1986

The Meaning Of YAYIN In The Old Testament

Lael O. Caesar

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THE MEANING OF \textit{YAYIN} IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

A Thesis
Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Lael Othniel Caesar
July 1986

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ABSTRACT

THE MEANING OF YAYIN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

by

Lael Othniel Caesar

Chairman: Richard M. Davidson
Abstract of Graduate Student Research

Thesis

Andrews University

School of Graduate Studies

Title: THE MEANING OF YAYIN IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

Name of Researcher: Lael Othniel Caesar

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Date Completed: July, 1986.

Problem

The attitude of Scripture to the use of alcohol is a subject of continuing dispute. This thesis analyzes the 141 occurrences of the Hebrew word yayin (wine), to determine the attitude of OT writers to the use of alcohol.

Method

The study reviews literature dealing with the evidence for wine production and storage in Palestine
and the ANE, and traces the development of the wine industry in Anatolia, Babylonia, Egypt, and the Levant.

Against the background of this review the study considers OT usage of yayin, the main Hebrew word for wine, under the seven categories of daily life, festivity, worship and ritual, prophetic utterance, special people, metaphor, and counsel and declaration. The categories are analyzed separately and together to determine a tone of approval, disapproval, or indifference in Scripture to the drinking of alcohol.

Five OT narratives are used to illustrate the conclusions of the study.

Findings

The study finds that present knowledge of wine production and storage processes in Palestine equally support the manufacture and preservation of fermented and unfermented grape juice.

The biblical testimony favors widespread use of intoxicants in ancient Israel; it also supplies evidence that many Israelites abstained in accordance with explicit spiritual injunction rather than out of peculiar or arbitrary inclination. While Deut 14:26 in particular provides explicit allowance for Israel's use of intoxicants, the study concludes that, overall, the ancient Hebrew moralists condemn both drunkenness and the idea of alcohol drinking.
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<tr>
<td>AJA</td>
<td>American Journal of Archaeology</td>
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<td>BAR</td>
<td>Biblical Archaeology Review</td>
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<td>BASOR</td>
<td>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</td>
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<td>Bib Sac</td>
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Israel Exploration Journal

Journal of the American Oriental Society


Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages


VT  *Vetus Testamentum*

VERSIONS

Douay  The Douay Version

JB  The Jerusalem Bible

KJV  The King James Version


NASB  The New American Standard Bible

NEB  The New English Bible

NIV  The New International Version


RSV  The Revised Standard Version

RV  The Revised Version, 1881–1885.

TLB  The Living Bible

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

This study analyzes the 141 occurrences of the Hebrew word yayin to determine the attitude of the OT writers toward the use of intoxicating beverages.

The attitude of OT writers to human consumption of intoxicants is probed in this study because much dispute has historically prevailed over whether Scripture commends, overlooks, or condemns the drinking of alcohol.

The study also reviews the viticultural practices of the ANE in OT times focusing upon the regions of Anatolia, Babylonia, Egypt, and Syro-Palestine. This review provides the necessary historical context for the study's main investigation.
Summary of Research

Early Works on the Subject of Wine in OT Times

Classical Roman Authors

The writings of such classical Latin authors as Cato, Pliny, and Columella have supplied much information on the cultivation of grapes and the production of wine in the ancient world. But these works do not deal specifically with the Palestinian milieu or present a systematic treatment of the development of its viticultural practice.

William Patton and H. F. Lutz

William Patton's work on Bible wines published in 1871 was dedicated to showing that wine in Bible times may sometimes have been preserved unfermented.2 The present study compares Patton's suggestion that fresh grape juice may have been available in OT times with the biblical statements on yayin.

The work of H. F. Lutz, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, provides some insight into


2 William Patton, Bible Wines: or Laws of Fermentation and Wines of the Ancients (Oklahoma City: Sane Press, 1871).
viticultural practice in many regions of the ANE but does not closely investigate the biblical statement.  

More Recent Authors

The work of Erwin R. Goodenough, 4 though it relates to wine and Jewry, applies to a different period of Jewish history—the Greco-Roman period. Goodenough sees in Jewish attitudes of the period a borrowing of ancient religious notions of a divine fluid (whether wine, or water, or milk) whose use symbolized the promise of personal immortality after death. 5 He explores the fascination of ANE peoples with the prospect of involvement with the divine through use of wine and other beverages, as well as through such elements as light and fire, fish and bread. His work does not involve any specific attempt to establish what the attitude of OT Scripture may have been to alcohol use. The basis of his discussion of Jewish involvement with wine is more often than not Rabbinical and intertestamental literature, rather than OT Scripture.


5 Ibid., 6:6.
R. J. Forbes' research into methods of ancient technology has provided significant information on wine production and use in the ancient world but has given major attention to territories of the Western Mediterranean rather than to the countries of this study's focus. Like Lutz and Goodenough, Forbes was not committed to a study of the biblical text.

In 1981 Jimmy Albright acknowledged that his exploration of wine use in the biblical world was hampered by a "paucity of information." Albright's title suggests that he seeks an understanding of the biblical statement through a study of the contemporary historical situation. The study appears to subordinate the import of the biblical text to the evidence of popular practice. Albright's work is largely historical rather than theological, consisting of a comparative study of wine in the ancient cultures of the patriarchal and subsequent eras. His repeated emphasis on the historical rather than the theological nature of his study nevertheless allows him freedom to


(1) summarize that his investigation of wine and its use in the biblical world "removes the subject matter from the realm of superstition and conjecture"

(2) posit that "the study showed that the Bible made no distinction between fermented and unfermented wines"

(3) pronounce that Scripture "never referred or alluded to such a distinction"

(4) elaborate on the "vindication" by Christ and Paul of "the liberty of their followers to use 'every creature of God' as good and fit for food, and to be received with thanksgiving by them as those who believe and know the truth"

(5) show that Christians are equally free to abstain completely from alcohol if they so choose.

Two years before Albright's dissertation, Robert P. Teachout also attempted to address the need for public information on the biblical statement concerning wine. His approach to the subject appears to simplify the question of the Bible's position on alcohol use. Teachout also appears to supply a consistent answer: he posits that every Scriptural occurrence of 'wine' in a context of divine approval should be understood as non-

---

intoxicating grape juice, while disapproving contexts indicate alcoholic wine.\textsuperscript{9}

But Teachout's approach appears to require an arbitrary imposition upon the biblical context which, for example leads him to consider the "wine and strong drink" of Deut 14:26\textsuperscript{10} as non-intoxicating grape juice.\textsuperscript{11}


\textsuperscript{10} All Scripture references are to the New American Standard Bible (NASB), except otherwise indicated.

\textsuperscript{11} The birthright scene of Gen 27 provides further illustration of the difficulty of Teachout's position. Isaac, the stubborn old man, is determined to oppose the prophetic statement that the birthright shall be Jacob's. Jacob is a self-confessed deceiver. But the birthright is represented as of divine ordination and prophetic compulsion. Must the wine which Jacob offers and which Isaac drinks be unfermented because God has chosen Jacob, and because, for Teachout, God only approves of unfermented juice? In the course of this thesis I raised this question with Dr. Teachout in a telephone conversation. He granted me permission to state his position that the character of God, consistently holy, is not always clearly reflected in the makeup and conduct of those who act for Him on earth. He went on to state that he considered my question a worthwhile one; he also said, at that time, that it could affect the numbers of his identification on \textit{yayin}: 71 for grape juice, 70 for intoxicating wine, by 10 or 15, though of this neither he nor I could be certain. For Teachout's determinations on \textit{yayin} as grape juice or wine, see "The Use of 'Wine' in the Old Testament" (Th. D. dissertation, Dallas Theological Seminary, May 1979), pp. 349-58. (The conclusions of this dissertation were later published in Teachout's book quoted above, \textit{Wine, the Biblical Imperative}). His response provided added impetus for restudying the subject. I also raised with Dr. Teachout the question of Scripture's condoning of behavior elsewhere condemned within its pages, and cited, by way of example, the
A number of shorter articles on the biblical attitude to alcohol use have also been published in recent times. Their brevity has not allowed for a comprehensive treatment of the subject.12

bountiful blessings bestowed on Israel's royalty, an institution which other passages suggest should never have existed. Dr. Teachout responded that his reading of Gen 17:6 and Deut 17:14ff allowed only divine warning against abuse of the institution of kingship. For him, the institution of royalty was always in the providence of God for the nation of Israel. A longer discussion might have eventually involved 1 Sam 8:7, 8; 10:7-9, 24; and 12:16-22.

12 These shorter studies may be grouped according to three positions, viz., those who see the Bible as requiring total abstinence, those who see it as teaching moderate drinking, and one author who see Scripture as requiring total abstinence for Christians and "biblical" drinking for non-Christians. The first group includes C. D. Watson, "The Use of Wine in the Bible and the Christian's Responsibility" (mimeographed copy of MS in this author's personal files, 16pp.)--the first part of this short paper may be recommended as a responsible study of OT viticultural terminology; Ernest H. J. Steed, The Great Alternative (Washington, DC: Review & Herald Pub. Assn.,1976); idem, "Self-Control Only Through Christ, and a Warning Against Counterfeits--Acupuncture, Yoga, Transcendental Meditation, and Other Systems" (mimeographed copy of MS, personal papers of Eugene Hamlin, 11 pp.); idem, "The Truth about Temperance," (mimeographed copy of MS, personal papers of Eugene Hamlin, 15 pp.); Francis A. Soper, "Alcohol: Ten Reasons Why You Don't Need It," reprinted from Life and Health, 1979, by Review & Herald Pub. Assn.; these authors argue that while Scripture does not explicitly condemn alcohol use, its principles oppose such use. See also Joseph P. Free, Archaeology and Bible History (Wheaton, IL: Van Kampen Press, 1950), Appendix II: "The Question of 'Wine and the Bible'" pp. 351-356; and Ernest Gordon, Christ, the Apostles and Wine: An Exegetical Study (Philadelphia, PA: Sunday School Times Co., rev, 1947), a compilation of a series of articles from the Sunday School Times, dedicated to establishing that the primitive NT church was hostile to any use of intoxicating wine. The second group includes Norman Geisler, "A Christian Perspective on Wine Drinking," Bib
Summary of the Problem

This survey of research has shown that investigators have not yet established the ANE historical context and probed the Biblical statement against this background. The works of classical Latin scholars make no attempt to set forth a defined theological statement on attitudes to alcohol in ancient Hebrew Scripture. Twentieth-century authors such as Lutz and Albright have given much attention to the culture of surrounding nations without giving sufficient attention to a careful reconstruction of the history of ANE viticulture. They have also paid little attention to the attitude of the Hebrew Scriptures to wine, as this attitude may compare with those of Israel's neighbors. Goodenough has only given attention to the ritual significance of wine to the Jews of imperial Rome. His work is focused on a later period than this study contemplates; it is not designed to analyze the thinking of OT writers.

Sac 139 (1982):46-56; Robert Stein, "Wine Drinking in New Testament Times," Ch T 19 (1975):923-25; and Billy Graham: see "Graham on Drink:'Don't',' Ch T 21 (1977):533; all of these warn against the dangers of today's alcohol and advise that Christians not cause their brothers to stumble by their own use of alcoholic beverages. The third category is represented by Jerry G. Dunn, with Bernard Palmer, What Will You Have to Drink? The New Christian Password (Beaverlodge, Alberta, Canada: Horizon House Pub., 1980), who permits non-Christians to drink "biblically" (pp. 83, 109).
Teachout's work has taken the Scriptures into serious consideration but seems to involve serious presuppositional flaws. Other shorter works have been unable to adequately represent the varying viticultural histories and attitudes of the peoples of the ANE.

There therefore remains a need for a comprehensive study which attempts to assess the attitude of Hebrew Scripture to the subject of wine, against the background of a reconstructed ANE viticultural milieu. Such a study necessitates a balanced inclusion of the elements of archaeological reconstruction, historical review, cultural comparison, and biblical investigation.

Method of Procedure

Edward Hyams' reconstruction of the origins of viticulture and the vine, *vitis vinifera*, illustrate the care which is necessary for a valid representation of Palestinian viticultural history.\(^\text{13}\) Such a representation, in order to encompass the above-mentioned elements of archaeology, history, culture, and 

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\(^{13}\) Edward Hyams, *Plants in the Service of Man: 10,000 Years of Domestication*, (Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1971), pp. 14-21. Hyams' careful tracing backwards of the line of the grape vine's diffusion gives credibility to his conclusion that early Transcaucasians first discovered wine, then learned farming from their more sophisticated neighbors of the great Sumerian and Chaldean cities to the South, and employed that knowledge to domesticate the vine.
Scripture, requires a bifocal approach which first establishes the ancient milieu by an archaeological reconstruction, and next probes the biblical statement against this background.

Archaeological Focus

The present study attempts to provide a chronology of viticulture in OT Palestine and the ANE, and also to review the information on vintage and wine storage in Israel. This review seeks to supply an illuminated context for the investigation of the biblical text.

Philological Focus

Teachout's conclusions on the OT statement on wine, and Albright's opposition to just such ideas, illustrate the critical role of philological discrimination and understanding in accurate biblical interpretation.

Albright's conclusions do not appear to be directly related to his research, in that they represent a position on the biblical text arrived at after only limited consideration of the text itself. But Teachout's 462 pages may not have settled the matter. While Albright is assured that Scripture permits and, in

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14 J. Albright dedicates twenty-three of his dissertation's 202 pages to study of the biblical terminology for wine.
fact, supports the use of alcoholic beverages and makes no distinction between fermented and unfermented wine,15 Teachout understands the truth to be that in every occurrence in a context of divine approval, the word wine should be understood as non-alcoholic grape juice, while disapproving contexts indicate the translation alcoholic wine.16

There is more biblical information available than Albright has put to work in the formulation of his theological conclusions. As previously pointed out, there are also significant questions on the biblical data not answered in Teachout's work. The answer to these questions requires a review of the varied contexts of Hebrew daily life which is both more candid and more particular than Teachout's work represents.

Therefore, this study analyzes the occurrences of yayin in Scripture according to the following seven categories of human experience which may more faithfully disclose the biblical view:

1. In daily life, considering passages indicative of the use of wine at regular meals, etc.

2. In festivity, touching on the presence of yayin on occasions of celebration.

15 J. Albright, pp. 252, 253.
16 Teachout, Total Abstinence, p. 16.
3. In worship and ritual, which deals chiefly with priests and others who took vows similar to theirs
4. In prophetic utterance
5. In the lives of special people such as Nazirites, the wife of Manoah, the Rechabites of Jeremiah's day
6. As metaphor, concerned mainly with poetic utterances and wisdom sayings
7. In counsel and declaration, a category subdivided into positive and negative remarks.

These seven categories are analyzed separately and together to determine a tone of approval, disapproval, or indifference in Scripture to the drinking of alcohol. A final section, "Wine Stories", illustrates the conclusions derived from analysis of the seven categories.

While focusing on OT times and a single Hebrew word, the study demonstrates the relevance of its conclusions to a thoroughgoing interpretation of the whole of Scripture.

Summary of the Contributions of This Study

This study attempts to provide a more systematic reconstruction of the Palestinian and general Near Eastern viticultural milieu than such sociological studies as Albright's have yet disclosed. It is not exhaustive in this area, because historical and
archaeological emphases provide no more than a background to its study of the Hebrew word yayin. Even so, it provides some illumination in these categories on the process of viticulture in ancient Israel which supplements the work of Albright and others. In these areas, much more attention is given to the Palestinian region than to the surrounding territories, but these are also reviewed in order to highlight both differences and similarities between their methods of viticulture and those of ancient Israel.

This reconstruction, while incidental to the study's main objective, is also of sufficient interest to the student of wine-making in the ANE to receive some treatment from Lutz, Albright, and Teachout, though without the systematic approach here attempted.

This study also aims at providing a more systematic analysis of the Scriptural contexts of the Hebrew word yayin than such investigations as Teachout's have so far provided. By this approach it appears possible to make a significant advance on previous studies through allowing the import of the various Scriptural records to emerge naturally from their specific contexts.

The thesis focuses upon a single word yayin, but gives due attention to related OT viticultural terminology.
CHAPTER II

VITIS V VINIFERA IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

This division of the study reviews viticultural practice in the ANE, giving particular attention to data on production and storage in Palestine, and to information on how wine was used and perceived by the population of the ANE world.

Introduction

Students of Scripture are very early introduced to the grapevine. In Gen 9:20-23 the eponymous ancestor of the Semitic nations of the ANE plays an honorable role at the scene of the Bible's first recorded drinking bout.17

The Genesis record appears to be supported by the frequent claim that vitis vinifera sylvestris

17 Although Noah is repeatedly called the one whom the Bible says discovered alcohol (see, for example, Stager, p. 4) this is not certain. The words of Jesus in Matt 24:38 and Luke 17:27 allow for that possibility before the flood.
originated somewhere south of the Caucasus mountains near the traditional resting place of Noah's ark.18

The conversion of the vine from wild trailer and climber to its present prominence as a source of human

18 Lutz, perhaps the most cited of twentieth-century authors on this subject, deems it impossible to identify a specific place of origin because of "the very ancient extension of the plant in the Mediterranean countries, where the conditions of the soil and the climate were and still are most favorable for its culture," p. 1. A color coded map of the grapevine's global distribution reveals its south Caucasian/Mediterranean concentration. See H. L. Edlin, Man and Plants, (London: Aldus Books, 1967, p. 146. Alphonse De Candolle, Origin of Cultivated Plants (New York: Hafner Pub. Co., reprint of 2nd ed., 1886), pp. 192, 193, is more confident than Lutz; he cites Russian botanist Kolenati in "Bulletin de la Societe Imperiale des Naturalistes de Moscou," 1846, p. 279, who claimed to have observed the wild aboriginal vines near Mt. Ararat growing at an altitude where they could not be cultivated. Kolenati and De Candolle after him pinpoint the south Caucasus because the leaves of the vines observed exhibit a downy character and veining, points which are "absolutely indifferent to cultivators." William J. Darby, Paul Chalioungui, and Louis Griveti, Food: The Gift of Osiris, 2 vols. (London: Academic Press, 1977), 2:551, grant that "a recurring difficulty in the retrieval of the past is the intertwining of myth, tradition, and fact in a manner seldom easy to unravel." They cite and dispute the statements of several classical Greek and Roman authors, pp. 551-55, on the origin of the vine. Hyams, pp. 14-21, traces the line of the plant's diffusion backward in time and concludes that the fertile valleys of Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan represent quite likely, the only place on earth where the domestication of the wild grape plant could have occurred, perhaps by 4000 B.C., perhaps much earlier. Forbes, 3:72, considers vitis vinifera to be probably from the Caucasian region, but affirms, p. 111, that its first cultivation took place in Anatolia. Lawrence Stager, "The Firstfruits of Civilization," MS prepared for Olga Tufnell festschrift, n.d., (mimeographed copy, personal papers), pp. 2, 3, identifies south Anatolia as the probable first home of cultivation.
refreshment may well be explained by the thesis of David Harris. Harris posits "manipulation of natural ecosystems as the mode of change with greatest relevance to the problems of domestication and the initiation of agriculture." These processes are natural developments typical of both human and nonhuman exploitation patterns, according to the view of E. G. Higgs and M. R. Jarman. These authors suggest that economic consideration was always the major motive force in the domestication process.

The vine is exceptionally disposed to gradual manipulation toward new varieties. Its proneness to

19 David R. Harris, "Agricultural Systems, Ecosystems and the Origins of Agriculture," in P. J. Ucko and G. W. Dimbleby, The Domestication and Exploitation of Plants and Animals: Proceedings of Meeting of the Research Seminar in Archaeology and Related Subjects (London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1965), p. 7. The two other modes Harris identifies are transformation of "generalized natural ecosystems" into "'specialized artificial ecosystems" (pp. 5, 6), and transformation of "specialized natural ecosystems into more generalized agricultural systems" (p. 6).


21 Ibid. The authors' 11,000 year time line for domestication to the present century cites no date for the cultivation of _vitis vinifera_.

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bud-mutation has undoubtedly contributed to the fact of so many current varieties of the grape.22

Ancient farmers may have been unschooled in the mysteries of genetics. Nevertheless, they succeeded in engineering a superior producer, the hermaphrodite *vitis vinifera sativa*, from the wild, dioecious *vitis vinifera sylvestris*.23

Today, largely as a result of this initial use of genetics, we may contrast the limited output of the wild Eurasian plant with the much greater yield of some of today's cultivars. While the fruit of the wild plant often clustered in bunches no more than one or two ounces in weight, today's vines may yield bunches of twenty-six pounds weight. The wild fruit may have been the size of peas, while today's may be as large as plums.24

22 Hyams, p. 20.

23 Hyams, p. x, speaks of 3,000 different cultivars; Edlin, p. 147, considers that at least 5,000 varieties of *vitis vinifera* yielding black or white grapes have been bred in different parts of the world; the many species which thrive under specific local conditions illustrate the plant's great potential for successful manipulation.

24 Ibid., p. x; Harold N. Moldenke and Alma L. Moldenke, *Plants of the Bible* (Waltham, MA: Chronica Botanica Co., 1952), p. 234. The contrast is already quite effectively stated in the Israelite story of the returning spies. Their single cluster of grapes from Eschol (the name means 'cluster') had to be carried on a pole between two men (Num 13:23). The biblical report of the weight of this cluster led Dr. Robert Griggs of George Washington University to argue that the spies
The territories of Transcaucasia, Anatolia, Assyria-Babylonia, Egypt, and Palestine have all had a role to play in the dissemination of the knowledge and use of the vine. Frequent scriptural references to wine and the vineyard reflect the importance of this branch of agriculture to the economic and cultural life of the ancient community. This fact supplies sufficient reason for investigation of the significance of wine in the Hebrew Scriptures. As new emphases in archaeology disclose more about the day-to-day workings of ancient society, their attention to the agricultural component of ancient Palestinian life makes possible increasingly valid reconstructions of the social and economic behavior involved in the region's viticulture.

25 Teachout, "Use of 'Wine'," pp. 8, 9, calculates that the importance of wine drinking in Scripture is illustrated by the Bible's 94 references to the vineyard, 54 to the vine, 18 to the grape, 141 to yayin (the major OT word for 'wine'), besides other words translated 'wine,' 'strong drink,' 'grape juice,' besides all of which he claims almost 200 other words in Scripture related to the vine and its products. A careful distinction may perhaps be drawn between Teachout's data and his conclusion. The data does demonstrate the significance of viticulture to the Biblical milieu. It does not prove that wine drinking is important.
Early History of Domestication of Vitis Vinifera
Sylvestris Among Israel's Neighbours

A reconstruction of the earliest agricultural habits of ANE peoples is now known to be less simple than once thought. Even a serious reading of earlier views may lead to the conclusion that a shift from nomadism to agriculture simply 'came to pass' and brought about a series of political, social, and religious changes which were nothing less than revolutionary. There was a rise in the standard of living. A much wider range of more attractive foods might be enjoyed. Population increased in numbers and was improved in quality. Men settled down and became attached to the soil. Permanent houses with village life were now the rule . . . . Specialization of function increased, there were peasants to farm the field, merchants to trade at a distance, elders to sit in council at the village gate, and priests to invoke the will of the gods.

Ellen Churchill Semple is among those who held a more qualified view. Looking into the interrelationship of geography and history in the Mediterranean region, she sought to integrate the standard dichotomy of 'pastoral nomadism' versus sedentary agriculture. Her work was informed by the awareness that "climate and soil were big factors in the differentiation of fruits

and grains.27 Thus grains generally thrived on the plains while orchards and vineyards found a natural home in the hills.28

Semple's sense of differentiation shows that it is much safer to apply several paradigms to the process of human civilization and agricultural development. Classical Roman authors, on the other hand, held a very straightforward view of human development.

According to Sauer, the classical view required a series of consecutive stages of collector, hunter, pastoral nomad, agriculturist; but this view was successfully challenged by the observation that the New World had advanced agriculture without pastoral nomads.29 This challenge in turn raised doubts about popular generalizations on the beginnings of agriculture.

While it used to be believed that agriculture had to have originated in the great valleys of the Near East where automatic water supplies guaranteed its success, researchers are now more reserved in their

28 Ibid., p. 381.
views. They now own that man is less certain of the processes of his early development than he once claimed to be. Until the 1950s those who dug up the past told much more about "kings and kingdoms, battles and destructions" than about the day-to-day workings of ancient society.30 Generalizations on early developmental processes were more easily sustained in the absence of rigorous investigation of their validity.

Today's archaeology has become more centered in anthropology; it has also become more totally ecological. Sauer has acknowledged that this study of total ecology or the interdependence of living things in a common habitat deals "in large part with observations of the present that originated in a past which does not come again, or which cannot be verified experimentally."31 This limitation does not curb man's desire to know his past. His valid inclination to reconstruct this past remains undiscouraged.

What must be acknowledged is the intricacy of the complexes of variables which operated to yield varied situations of settlement, programs of agriculture, and other patterns of human behavior in the long ago.


31 Sauer, p. 1.
The relevance of this awareness to the present investigation of the early history of the grapevine's domestication is readily apparent. It is known that wine was widely available in ancient times. But there is not much certainty about the production and storage practices of ancient viticulture. The ecological contrast within the ANE between Mesopotamia and Egypt, on the one hand, and Anatolia and Syro-Palestine on the other, is one of the variables to be considered as one attempts to fill this lacuna. Differences in patterns of vine cultivation are another lesser consideration. Vintage and methods of storage must also be examined. Linguistic determinations on the real meaning of yayin, made against such a background, are likely to be more sound than those which ignore these realities.

This study's chronological and ecological treatment of ANE viticulture supplements the work of classical and modern authors. But it does not exhaust the possibilities for accurate representation of the facts with regard to wine production and storage in the ANE world. Its main purpose is to establish, against the more informed background of modern archaeology, the processes of OT Palestinian viticulture. In the course of this effort, it notes the similarities to and the differences from the corresponding practice in nations surrounding Palestine.
Anatolia

This region belongs to the territory of the vine's natural habitat. Lawrence Stager believes that the grapevine was first domesticated here, and dates that event to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age. Anatolia may also have introduced the Greeks to wine through contact with Thrace, a colony of the Mysian power across the Aegean in Asia Minor.

The theory of Anatolian origins of wine production has strong philological and archaeological support. R. J. Forbes, for example, states that Latin, Greek, and West Semitic words for wine are independent borrowings from Asia Minor.

Hittite history is a major source of information on Anatolian involvement with the grapevine. This history includes several references to the vine and its products, and to Hittite attitudes to these. The evidence thus provided is examined in the following pages.

The Middle Bronze Age

If one may assume that rainfall patterns in Turkey today are representative of the second millennium

32 Stager, pp. 2, 3; also Forbes, 3:111.

33 Hyams, p. 18.

34 Forbes, 3:111; Stager, p. 4.
B.C., then the Hittite spring season was "a season of rains" which probably occurred at the beginning of the Hittite year. After this trimester lasting from April to June came the summer months. The last two of these summer months were grape harvest time. It is likely, to judge by the evidence of present distribution, that ancient vine cultivation occurred along the four great river valleys of the far west, in the Adana plain, in the vicinities of Nigde, Nevsehir, Kayseri, Yozgat, and Sungurlu.

Early insight into Hittite esteem for wine survives through an extant address of the Hittite ruler, Mursilis I. To judge by his address, the highest officers of his realm included the chief wine-pourer,

35 Harry A. Hoffner, Jr., Alimenta Hethaeorum: Food Production in Hittite Asia Minor (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1974), pp. 13-16, 18. Hoffner argues against the view that the grape harvest was at the turn of the year which would then have begun in the fall.

36 Ibid., p. 39.

37 Note that present patterns of distribution are less than compelling evidence for ancient agriculture, though it is necessary, as is done throughout this study, to take them into consideration. See Hoffner, p. 41, where he points out that Pharaonic Egypt was full of vineyards, but by the 5th century B.C. Egypt had to import wine from Greece.
who stood on par with the chief treasurer and the chief bodyguard.\textsuperscript{38}

Two generations before Mursilis I, Labarnas, son of Labarnas I, documented Hittite wine involvement in an early speech to his fighting men and dignitaries. In his speech, he bequeathed his throne to the adopted Mursilis instead of his own son, "the young Labarnas."\textsuperscript{39}

The king (called here "the Great Labarnas") admonished the young Mursilis to heed his word which others had not done, and eat bread and drink water.\textsuperscript{40} 

\begin{quote}
"[And when] [sic] old age is with thee, then drink to satiety! And then thou mayest set aside thy father's word."\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

The king also handed down this injunction to his chief servants whom he bade to "(only) eat bread and drink water." He expected that compliance would ensure exaltation and peace to Hattusas.\textsuperscript{42}

In another document, Zitis the cupbearer is executed for offering the king "good wine" but giving "other wine" to Marattis and the Lady Hestaiara.

\begin{thebibliography}{9}


\bibitem{40} Gurney, pp. 171, 172.

\bibitem{41} Ibid.

\bibitem{42} Ibid., p. 172.
\end{thebibliography}
contrary to the king's orders. These references suggest an awareness of the effects of alcohol on human judgment. Hattusilis (the name by which Labarnas is best remembered) may have contradicted his own position since he is on record as ordering "good wine." Alternatively, he may have been indicating a distinction between "good wine" as a beverage he approved of, and "other wine," an undesirable item. The cupbearer is executed, not for offering "inferior wine" but for offering wine which contrasted with that which the king counted "good."

The Late Bronze Age

In the ruins of the former Hittite capital at Boghazkoy many fragments of clay tablets have been discovered inscribed with laws. The two major tablets of 100 clauses each, generally referred to as the Law Code, stand as "our main source for the nature of Hittite society," and give evidence of continuous growth through time without any indication as to their date of completion. These laws speak of a people "who

\[43 \text{ Ibid.}
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\[44 \text{ Ibid., pp. 80, 88; "Hittites," SDABD (1979), pp. 500, 501, which states that the laws can be dated no later than Late Bronze to Iron I, not because of internal evidence, but simply because the Hittite empire vanished around 1200 B.C., and by the end of the eighth century B.C., its last city states had been obliterated from all but biblical memory by the cruel Assyrian war machine.} \]
possessed higher ethical values than most other ancient nations," laws which are the most humane of any known from that period of antiquity.45

The Hittite code affords many insights relevant to this study. Among these are the listing of three and a half acres of vineyard supporting forty apple trees, as part of a typical land-deed; one mina, the price of a mule, as the cost of one acre of vineyard; half a shekel as the cost of one parisu (PA) of wine. The comparative value of wine in the time of the code is indicated by the fact that one PA of wine cost the same as one PA of emmer wheat, or two PAs of barley.46

Statements of offences connected with vineyard and orchard occur as the first clauses of the second part of the code (sections 101 ff.). The following two examples may suffice:

Clause 103: If anyone sets [brushwood (?)] [sic] on fire and [leaves] [sic] it there and the fire seizes a vineyard, if vines, appletrees, pomegranates, and pear-trees (?) [sic] burn up, for one tree he shall give [six] [sic] shekels of silver and re-plant the plantation. If it be a slave, he shall give three shekels of silver.

Clause 113: If a vine grower damages another's vine, he must take the damaged vine and let the

45 Ibid.

46 Gurney, pp. 81, 85; Samuel Noah Kramer, History Begins at Sumer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), pp. 363, 365; Kramer identifies the mina as a measure of weight roughly equal to a pound; a shekel is one-sixtieth of a mina.
plaintiff harvest grapes from a good vine of his own.47

A text on burial customs from the thirteenth century B.C. illustrates the varied utility which wine enjoyed among the Hittites by showing that ten jugs of wine were used, along with beer and an unidentified beverage called wahli, to extinguish the royal funeral pyre on the second of a thirteen-day mourning ceremony, as in the burials of Greek heroes of the Iliad.48

Beyond the Bronze Age

In his survey of the history, geography, and monuments of Hittite Asia Minor and Syria, John Garstang found that the old Hittite worships survived in some places up to 1,000 years after the empire's fall. These include the Anti-Taurus and Taurus where the highly organized military center of the Hittite army had been located. He mentions a monument at Ivriz, of the Hittite peasant-god, sculptured fourteen feet high, and holding bunches of grapes and bearded wheat. Garstang describes this statue, dated to the tenth to ninth century, as among the most striking of the ancient East.49 In commenting on its significance Goodenough

47 Gurney, p. 81; Hoffner, pp. 40, 41.
48 Gurney, pp. 164-66.
considers that the vine twining about the god's body signifies that the god himself is the embodiment of the growing vine.50 Evidently, the grapevine and its fruit long continued to be held in high regard.

This importance is reflected in at least one place name identified by Garstang's researches: Wiyanawanda (classical Oneanda), meaning 'wine town,' of uncertain location.51

Summary on Anatolia

Anatolia belongs to the territory of the wild vine's earliest provenance. The region is philologically and archaeologically defensible as the region of the vine's earliest domestication. The major Bronze Age peoples of the territory, the Hittites, have left behind evidences of their high regard for the vine and its products. Evidence of their unusually high ethical sensitivity also survives. This ethical discrimination is compatible with king Hattusilis' directive that his son and chief servants drink no wine during the years of their public service.


50 Goodenough, 5:137.

51 Garstang, p. 180; Garstang considers that the town may have been situated in eastern Cilicia at the head of the gulf of Issos, or, more likely, at Lycia to the south and west, and in some relation to the sea coast.
The Sumerian Legacy

E. A. Speiser, in his discussion of a general ANE heirship of Sumerian civilization, expresses the opinion that there is generally only a limited realization that "the civilizing activity of the Sumerians had begun in protohistoric times."52

Hyams seems to be aware of this. Although Lutz states that Babylonia "was no wine country,"53 Hyams considers the inhabitants of the Tigris-Euphrates valley to be indirectly associated with the beginnings of viticulture which he locates in Armenia.54 Thus, to the legal, administrative, and scientific bequests of Sumerian writing to west Asian civilization, Hyams would add an agricultural legacy. His speculation is that Transcauscians, who learned farming from their southern


53 Lutz, p. 37.

54 Hyams, pp. 18-21. Neither intoxication with the liquor of wild grapes, nor agricultural expertise acquired from Kish and Ur adequately illustrates the biblical account of Noah's drunkenness, Gen 9:20-27, but Hyams' position that viticulture spread from Transcaucasia to Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, Egypt, and elsewhere, p. 21, appears to be valid.
neighbors, exercised this acquired skill to domesticate the vine.\textsuperscript{55}

Forbes' reference to early wine exports from Mesopotamia to Egypt somewhat supports the theory of a Sumarian legacy.\textsuperscript{56}

A reconciliation of the opinions of Hyams, Speiser, Forbes, Lutz, and Stager on the domestication of \textit{vitis vinifera sylvestris} may now be attempted. Hyams' position is that viticultural genesis is located in Armenia.\textsuperscript{57} Speiser considers that Sumer had a role to play.\textsuperscript{58} Forbes claims that viticulture was taken to Egypt from Mesopotamia during the Djemdet-Nasr period of prehistory.\textsuperscript{59} Lutz opines that south Babylonians borrowed viticultural practices from the Egyptians.\textsuperscript{60} Stager declares that viticulture was internationally disseminated from the region of southern Anatolia.\textsuperscript{61}

An apparent reconstruction seems to be that the knowledge of wine making came down the mountains of the Caucasus and into the Tigris-Euphrates valley, but

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{56} Forbes, 3:72.
\textsuperscript{57} Hyams, p. 18-21.
\textsuperscript{58} Speiser, pp. 25, 26.
\textsuperscript{59} Forbes, 3:72.
\textsuperscript{60} Lutz, pp. 37, 38.
\textsuperscript{61} Stager, p. 4.
became most firmly entrenched outside the valley. The soil and terrain of Anatolia facilitated the prosperity of viticulture. Its strategic location enabled dissemination of the practice to the Aegean east, the Levantine south, and the Egyptian southeast. The preeminence of southern Anatolia, as vine cultivator, therefore stands over against the wide distribution of the wild vine, and of the evidences of early viticulture.62

**Early Bronze Age**

Lutz is certain that viticulture was practised in southern Babylonia at a very early date.63 Since irrigation farming was the dominant feature of Babylonian agriculture from the time of Sumer and

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62 Duane W. Roller, "The 'Ain La'ban Oasis: A Nabataean Population Center," AJA 87(1983):173-82, mentions prehistory Jericho as a site of early grape culture. The fact emphasizes the broad distribution of the vine throughout the Mediterranean regions. Babylonia's independence of southern Anatolia may be represented in Accadian *gestin* ('tree of life' or 'wood of life'), a term for wine and grape which, unlike Latin, Greek and W. Semitic, is not considered a borrowing from the Hittite *wiyanas*. A second E. Semitic term, *inu*, is as reflective of *wiyanas* as the meaning of *gestin* is reminiscent of Gen 3:24 or Rev 2:7. This second word may be seen as evidence of the later Anatolian influence upon the international wine industry.

63 Lutz, p. 37. Lutz here quotes Gudea, ensi of Lagash (cylinder A XXVII, 10-11, 23, 24), whose work provides important source material for early Mesopotamian historiography, during a period which has supplied only sparse documentation. The "low" chronology dates Gudea, during the rulership of the Gutti (highlanders), to the 23rd century B.C.
before, the Babylonians were forced to adapt their farming methods to the practice of viticulture in riverain areas where the grapevine would not normally thrive. By way of adaptation, farmers provided artificially raised plots on which to cultivate their vines. The most likely period of this cultivation was during the dry season, from March to November.64

The overflow of the river reached its height in May, and ceased in mid-June, and the hotter and drier months of July and August were the ripening time for grapes.65

Morris Jastrow, Jr., generalizes that in agriculture "a minimum of effort yielded a maximum of sustenance."66 There is no evidence that this generalization freely applied to all agriculture, for the provision of artificial elevations in the vineyards could not have been seen as a negligible undertaking. The effort of installation does suggest that some value was placed upon the results.

Lutz has held the position that Mesopotamian

64 Lutz, pp. 37, 38.
65 Hoffner, pp. 8, 9.
viticultural practices were borrowed from Egypt. As already suggested, it is more likely that Egypt borrowed from Mesopotamia. This is particularly so since there is much evidence for "the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris as the land of origin of Egypt's early culture and achievements."68

According to Lutz' vague reference to Northern Babylonia, presumably to such Akkadian cities as Babylon, viticulture was there a more thriving affair.69 The South had early outdistanced the North both agriculturally and economically,70 so that it is not immediately apparent why Lutz deems the conditions more favorable at Babylon, on the banks of the Euphrates. It is also unclear what other region Lutz intended in his reference to Northern Babylonia. He does say that there vineyards flourished more freely.71

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67 Lutz, pp. 37, 38. Lutz advances no persuasive evidence for this theory, and the available facts on the antiquity of the Tigris-Euphrates civilization, as with data on the origin of the vine, point in the opposite direction. It is true that Egyptian culture did surpass its Mesopotamian exemplars under the First Dynasty, as is noted by William Foxwell Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957), p. 142; but this was after viticulture was established throughout the NE.


69 Lutz, p. 38.

70 W. F. Albright, p. 140.

71 Lutz, p. 38.
The Middle Bronze Age

The code of Hammurabi provides clear insights into Babylonian involvement with wine in the Middle Bronze Age. Hammurabi's code includes four paragraphs on the regulation of inns, called "wineshops," which indicate, inter alia, that wineshops were also brothels and scenes of crime and riot. The innkeeper, often a woman, held powers of arrest. Ironically, though women often ran wineshops, death at the stake awaited the vestal virgin who left her house to open one. The further contradiction is that the ancient Akkadian city of Kish is alleged to have been founded by a woman who achieved fame and influence, and eventual royalty, after opening a wineshop.72

Late Bronze and Iron Age

During the Late Bronze Age and until the conquest of Nineveh in 612 B.C., Babylon was for the most part a dependency of the Assyrian neighbors. As the Assyrian empire extended, it encompassed Persian, Armenian, Syrian, and Palestinian hills and mountains. On the slopes of the narrow valleys "flourished the vine, such as [later] furnished the drinks for the

famous wine-card of Nebuchadnezzar."73 The Harran census represents nearly all the gardens of Assyria's territory as planted with vines, numbering from 2,000 to 29,000. One district held a total of 283,000; another one 41,000.74

This census lists the name of each father as the first item in every new entry. This suggests that holdings were hereditary. The order of the data recorded in the census is as follows: father's name, status as family head, employment (irrigator, husbandman, vigniard, shepherd), sons by name, daughters by number, wife (usually one); number of slaves; holdings in imers (the amount of terrain required for one ass load of seed)—the usual size of a holding being twenty imers, and the range being from twelve to one hundred imers. In nearly all these units, as mentioned before, vines are reported in great numbers.75 It is also of note that of the four major 'professions' suggested in the lists, two may directly relate to viticulture.

Wine was a significant form of exchange. Along with such predictable articles as money and cattle, and

74 Ibid.
75 Ibid., p. 517.
such agricultural items as grain and oil, it could be advanced as a loan until harvest was in. 76

During the period of their domination of Babylonia (13th to 7th century B.C.), several Assyrian kings, Assurnasirpal (883-59 B.C.), Sargon II (722-705 B.C.), Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.), and Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.), gave indication of their great interest in the vine and its fruit. 77 Rabshakeh, messenger of Sennacherib, who had every right to know, as being the king's cupbearer, boasted to the men of Hezekiah that his master would take them to a land like their own land, presumable Assyria, "a land of grain and new wine, a land of bread and vineyards," 2 Kgs 18:32.

The wine of the mountain of Arzabia, an uncertain locale, was very famous during Assyrian times. 78

**Vintage**

The Egyptian vintage is better documented than the Mesopotamian, but the two are considered to have

76 Ibid., p. 520.

77 Forbes, 3:73, reports that Assurnasirpal "had vineyards near his residence;" Sennacherib "tried to acclimate exotic kinds of vines," Sargon II kept 150,000 litres of wine in his storage rooms, and preferred wine from the region of Lake Van, and Assurbanipal's library included a list of ten best brands of wine, of which Ezekiel's 'wine from Helbon' (27:18) emerges second.

78 Lutz, p. 38.
been very similar. This allows for a single treatment of the practice in both areas in the following section on Egypt.

Summary on Assyria and Babylonia

The legacies of ancient Babylonian agriculture are not limited to what Sumer taught Armenia, or what Mesopotamia lent Egypt. Even the Hebrew agricultural year, after exile in the sixth century, named its months after the Babylonian calendar. It was, of course, the calendar of Nippur, a Sumerian city, which became standard for Babylonia and Assyria, and began in March-April. Mesopotamia's legacy to ANE viticulture includes the calendar of the agricultural year, and an adaptation of irrigation farming methods which enabled riverain cultivators to produce grapes and wine as freely as those who cultivated the vine in its natural habitat.

There is some contrast between the legacy of Hittite Hattusilis and the Babylonians. Babylonian literature "has not yet produced anything like a moral

prescription in which a warning is contained in regard to the excessive use of alcoholic beverages.\textsuperscript{80}

Assyria leaves a similar testimony. In general, evidence for widespread cultivation is complemented by evidence for great indulgence. Lutz mentions a written complaint to the king about the drunken ways of three of his recent appointees to higher army posts.\textsuperscript{81} Nah 1:10, a prophecy concerning Nineveh, employs a simile which must have been familiar to its target audience. It is the simile of the weakness of men "drunken with their drink." The monumental representations from Nineveh, of men gathered to feast on nothing but wine drawn from bowls the height of a man's chest, support this general picture.\textsuperscript{82} Assyria's thirst for the blood of its enemies seems to have been paralleled by its thirst for alcohol.

The code of Hammurabi, the monumental scenes reported above, and Nahum's language, are among the clear evidences for Assyrian indulgence which have

\textsuperscript{80} Lutz, p. 133.

\textsuperscript{81} See Lutz, pp. 115-127, for varied evidences of Assyrian indulgence and other involvement, including Ishtar's bidding of Assurbanipal to eat food, drink strong wine, make music, and exalt her divinity; Assyrian banquet scenes of up to fifty guests, holding up their beautifully worked wine cups; wine and beer libations both offered to the gods and poured out over the bodies of lions slain in the chase.

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
survived to this day. Neither does there stand over against these evidences any testimony of opposition to the practices these records represent.83

Egypt

According to Egyptian myth, the goddess Hathor was at one time a lioness. She was turned by Ra into an amiable and fun-loving lady when her rage for destruction was pacified at the sight of what she thought was an ocean of human blood. This blood was actually nothing more than beer which Ra had dyed red. In Hathor's new persona she became the object of enthusiastic veneration as in this Hymn of the Seven Hathors:

Out hearts exult on seeing thy Majesty,
For thou art the Mistress of Wreathes
The Lady of Dance
And of Drunkenness without end.84

Commenting on these lines, William J. Darby, Paul Ghalioungui, and Louis Grivetti add that "drunkenness was thus a source and symbol of mirth and forbearance, possibly also of religious ecstasy."85

83 See also Dan 5, on Belshazzar's feast on the night of Babylon's capture by Mede and Persian armies.


85 Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:530.
The comment reflects Egypt's long-continuing devotion to grape and wine through centuries of dynastic change, invasion, and expulsion of foreign rulers, ages of creative artistic and monumental accomplishment, and contrasting agricultural sameness along the banks of the Nile. The Egyptian love affair with vineyards and wine is a matter of record.86

Early and Middle Bronze Age

A proper reconstruction of the Egyptian viticultural scenario involves some comment on the history of Mesopotamian-Egyptian cultural interaction.

David Oates and Joan Oates portray the stabilization of rainfall in the Near East, on "the little evidence we have," as occurring around what many scholars consider to be the middle of the fourth millenium B.C.87 These scholars assert that a millenium and a half before this had witnessed the de facto

86 The exaltation of the vine is complete with its employment as a fitting symbol of Osiris who revives despite his mutilation, as the vine reproduces without seed. See Lutz, pp. 111-14. The behavior of fermented wine and of intoxicated individuals also inspired the conviction that the grape was of theological significance. Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:527-37, 571-74, 576-77, note that there is no temple which does not illustrate the funerary purposes of wine use, while its medicinal functions were strongly magical.

establishment of irrigation farming in Mesopotamia. By contrast, the southern regions of the valley known as Upper Egypt are not a region of rainfed agriculture. Added to this, the country "was comparatively self-contained." While Mesopotamian influence impacted on the Delta "there were long periods of time when there was absolutely no interference at all" in Upper Egypt.

Lower Egypt of the Nile Delta was the dynamic entity, sharing with and learning from Mesopotamia. It learned the techniques of coping with the perennial cycle of inundation and neap tide. Sometimes it institutionalized that learning all along the belt of the Nile.

Sauer who has warned that the past does not come again and cannot be verified experimentally, at the same time confidently asserts that "the needy and miserable societies are not inventive, for they lack the leisure for reflection, experimentation, and discussion." He further insists that "Primitive cultivators could not establish themselves in large river valleys subject to

88 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid., p. 36.
lengthy floods and requiring protective dams, drainage, or irrigation."92

Both Egyptian and Mesopotamian history appear to oppose this theory. Their economic struggle was the consequence of their necessity. Its fruit, in both cases, was an organization of society which discloses them today as the sites of the oldest organized states yet discovered.93

Both Egypt and Mesopotamia were cereal producers at the start of the Early Bronze Age. But Mesopotamia was for many centuries culturally ahead of Egypt. The evidence for viticulture suggests that one area of Mesopotamia's ascendancy was in grape farming. Egypt owes Mesopotamia at least a partial debt in this area of agriculture.

This debt is in proportion to the enthusiasm with which Egypt viewed the vine and its products. Den (Udimu), a Pharaoh of the first dynasty, usually dated in the first years of the third millennium B.C., called

92 Sauer, pp. 1, 20, 21.

93 Sauer's observations are answered by W. F. Albright's conviction that Chalcolithic culture may fairly be called 'irrigation agriculture' "since its remarkable development would have been impossible without the powerful impetus given by the art of irrigation." It was the development of irrigation that led to the development of the arts of agriculture "from their beginnings in the Mesolithic and their budding in the Neolithic of the Near East to their brilliant flowering in the Chalcolithic." W. F. Albright, pp. 144, 145.
his vineyard "The Enclosure of the Beverage of the Body of Horus."94 Khasekhemui, possibly the last king of the second dynasty, named his "Praised Be the Souls of Horus,"95 and Zoser of the third dynasty, builder of the famous Step Pyramid, named one of his "Praised Horus Who Is in the Front of Heaven,"96 and another in the Delta, "Soul of Egypt."97 Finally, the discrimination which Egypt brought to bear on the subject by the Middle Bronze Age may be known by the fact that the daily fare of king Unas of the sixth dynasty included five different kinds of wine.98

Late Bronze Age

In the fifteenth century B.C. the soldiers of Thutmose III celebrated after their victory over Ardata, during the king's sixth campaign, by spoiling the land of Djahi and making themselves "as drunk and anointed with oil every day as if at feast in Egypt.99 Amenhotep

94 Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:555.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid., 2:555, 556; also Forbes, 3:74.
97 Lutz lists this name and others, pp. 97-114, and comments that naming of vineyards was also practiced in Mesopotamia. These pages also provide some insight into varied practices of wine indulgence.
98 Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 1:55, 60-63.
III of the eighteenth dynasty may be remembered for giving a vineyard to the temple of Luxor whose production of wine exceeded "the water of the Nile at its highest mark." 100

**Cultivation Practices**

Egyptian vineyards have been depicted according to several patterns: growing on trellis work; more simply, climbing an arch of pliable branches stuck in the ground at both ends; running along a wooden pole resting in the forked ends of two upright wooden pillars; or even, for the less careful, simply climbing existing hedges or growing unsupported. 101

The shortage of water explains the amount of time husbandmen spent watering vines; it also explains portrayals of a water-basin as one feature of the vineyard, and cup-shaped heaps of earth around the roots of the vines. The heaps were designed to hold the water in the soil as long as possible. Pergolas or trellis work, as they became overspread with the foliage of the vines, shaded the ground below from direct sunlight, increasing the time such shaded soil would hold its precious moisture. 102

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100 Forbes, 3:75.
101 Lutz, p. 49.
102 Ibid., pp. 49, 50.
The bunches of grapes were harvested by men, women, and children to the accompaniment of music. The grapes were then transported in baskets to treading vats. None of these vats have survived; this has perhaps led Lutz and Forbes, without substantiating, to speak of them as constructions of wood, with Lutz further asserting that this was acacia wood, while Forbes speaks both of wood and stone vats.

Treading of the grapes, still practiced today, was a celebratory occasion. A document from much later (A.D. 322) enlightens us on the practice of contracting musicians to be present at the vintage and "... without fault assist the grape treaders and the other workers" by flute playing, and not leave "until the completion of the vintage."

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103 Picking by hand is still done in most European vineyards today, Edlin, p. 149; but Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:557, Forbes, 3:75, and Lutz, p. 51, are of the opinion that the ancient Egyptian practice was harvesting with a sickle-shaped knife.

104 Lutz, p. 53; Forbes, 3:76. Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:557, 560, wonder why no stone vats have survived.

105 A. S. Hunt, C. C. Edgar, trans. Select Papyri, 5 vols. (L.C.L.), vol. 1, Non-Literary Papyri: Private Affairs, p. 67. Pages 55-57 provide excellent insight into the tending of an Egyptian vineyard during this later period. In a "Contract for Labour in a Vineyard and Lease of a Fruitgarden," A.D. 280, Aurelius Ctistus and his colleague Pelcius agree to pluck reeds for training of vines, layer vine-shoots, dig scoop hollows around vines, make trenches, break up the ground, pick off shoots, give space to the vine-growths, cut back,
The winepressers circled the inside of the vat, trampling the grapes to the rhythm of the music contracted. If there was no music provided they supplied it with their own voices. The juice expressed flowed into a lower vat which Forbes refers to as the fermenting vat.\textsuperscript{106} Any juice remaining in the fruit after the initial trampling of the grapes was wrung out of a cloth into which the lees were placed. The cloth was slung across a wooden frame and twisted at the end, as forcibly as possible, the juice flowing into an open jar. This liquid was separately kept, for production of second quality wine.\textsuperscript{107}

Jars of stored wine were labeled, evidently after being tasted by tax inspectors to determine their quality.\textsuperscript{108} Inscriptions or seals on the stoppers of the jars told significant details of the vintage such as

thin the foliage as necessary, superintend the asses which bring earth, to see that it is thrown in the proper places; also to test the jars intended for the wine, put filled jars into the open-air shed, plaster them, move the wine, strain it from one jar into another, and also assume responsibility for the date palms and fruit trees in the old vineyard. Much of this picture is undoubtedly relevant to earlier times, given the resilience of rural agricultural habits, grape growing in particular.

\textsuperscript{106} Forbes, 3:76.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid; Lutz, pp. 53-55.

\textsuperscript{108} Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:567, 594.
date, quality (good, twice good, three times good, sweet, etc.), or vineyard of origin.\textsuperscript{109}

It appears, from commentators' treatment of the vintage that the only beverage produced was alcoholic. This assumption discussed later. Forbes does explain that both in Egypt and Mesopotamia wild moulds (\textit{saccharomyces ellipsoideus} and \textit{apiculatus}) which occurred on the skin of the grapes helped to turn the grape sugar into alcohol.\textsuperscript{110}

Mixed Wine

In Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Palestine, wine mixing was established practice. Processes included syphoning from different jars into a single cup in Egypt, and adding aromatic ingredients.\textsuperscript{111} The ancient Greeks and Romans mixed their wine with water according to several ratios including the following parts of wine

\textsuperscript{109} Forbes, 3:77; Lutz, p. 57; also Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:567, 594, who explain that the labeling of once to three times good is a grammatical way to express superlatives.

\textsuperscript{110} Forbes, 3:73. He states also, that workmen involved in the fermentation process were sometimes forced to creep out of the cool, dark buildings and cellars after being overcome by the evolving carbon dioxide, p. 77. For scenes of the vintage, see James B. Pritchard, \textit{The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), figs. 155, 156.

\textsuperscript{111} Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:566; Forbes, 3:72, 19; the latter page provides a table of some of the mixtures known, giving the names in Egyptian, Sumerian, Accadian, Hebrew, and English.
to water: 3:2, 1:2, 2:5, 1:3, 1:4.\textsuperscript{112} The narration of the Odyssey mentions a much more powerful potion, referring at the same time to the bowl in which the wine was usually mixed:

he gave me a mixing bowl made all of silver, and gave along with it wine, drawing it off in storing jars, twelve in all. This was a sweet wine, unmixed, a divine drink. No one of his servants or thralls that were in his household knew anything about it, but only himself and his dear wife and a single housekeeper. Whenever he drank this honey-sweet red wine, he would pour out enough to fill one cup, then twenty measures of water were added, and the mixing bowl gave off a sweet smell...\textsuperscript{113}

It should be noted that other kinds of wine drinks were also known to antiquity, produced from fig, carob, cherries, prunes, and dates, though none of these has ever attained the universal popularity of the juice of \textit{vitis vinifera}.\textsuperscript{114}

**Wine Use in Egypt**

Most of the wine was locally consumed, and the beverage was a major feature of festivities, religion, religion, ___


\textsuperscript{113} Homer \textit{The Odyssey}, 9. 1. 202-210 (trans. Richmond Lattimore, Harper Torchbooks).

\textsuperscript{114} Forbes, 3:72; Lutz, pp. 41, 105.
and cult—including libation for sacrifice, funerary ritual, and medicine.115

**Ancient Greek and Roman Perspectives on Wine**

In their attitude to wine, Greeks and Romans, the most famous peoples of the western Mediterranean, appear to stand closer to the Hittite tradition than to that of the other nations already reviewed in this chapter. Wine is popular, but cautions on its use are more apparent.

Wine-pouring, among the Greeks and Romans, was an honor,116 but drinking unmixed wine was dangerous. The Lacedaemonians assert that king Cleomenes went mad from associating with the Scythians and acquiring from them the habit of drinking unmixed wine.117 This opinion suggests that these peoples were aware of the dangers of alcohol use.

In a possible attempt to guard against these dangers, the Athenians employed wine-inspectors who saw that all drank equal quantities. But these inspectors were poorly regarded.118

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115 Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 2:529-37, 571-77.
118 Athenaeus 10. 425.
Democritus, in The Deipnosophists, asserts that toasts were not anciently known because "in the beginning the libation was reserved for the gods;" men of old did not get drunk.\textsuperscript{119} The assertion, like the notion concerning king Cleomenes and the Athenian use of wine inspectors, may imply a negative view on the human consumption of alcohol, notwithstanding the fact that it is spoken in the context of a wine-fest.

An equivalent attitude is also evidenced in Rome where, according to the words of Democritus, slaves, free-born women, and free youth up to the age of thirty were forbidden to drink wine.\textsuperscript{120}

Summary on the Early History of Wine in Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria

In summary of this overview of the early history of wine in Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria, Lutz' opening remark on "Wine and Beer in the Daily Life and Religion of the Ancient Orientals," fits easily into place: "In Egypt, as well as in Babylonia and Assyria, we find only one view regarding intoxicants. This view is of a favorable character, as far as the national conscience of these people is concerned."\textsuperscript{121} Only vestal virgins

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{119} Ibid., 10. 427.
\item \textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 10. 429.
\item \textsuperscript{121} Lutz, p. 97.
\end{itemize}
in Hammurabi's Babylon were strictly forbidden against drinking.

It is apparent that this attitude was not universal in the ANE and Mediterranean world, for Hittite, Greek, and Roman records display a different attitude. The Greeks saw the drinking of "straight wine" as causing madness; the Romans prevented the society's workforce—the slaves, its women, and its young men up to the age of thirty from using any wine. These absolute proscriptions accompany warnings against excess to those who drink:

> Whosoever he be, who exceedeth measure in drinking, hath no longer power over his own tongue or his reason. Do thou not, then, knowing this, drink wine to excess, but ere thou begin to be drunk, rise up and depart.

The Roman jurist Ulpian of Tyre, one of Athenaeus' characters in *The Deipnosophists*, introduces after dinner philosophizing on wine with the following words:

> Comparing ourselves to certain wine-pourers, one of which, the fountain of pleasure, one might liken to honey; the other, the sobering and wineless fountain of wisdom, to a well of homely and healthful water; these we must mix in the best possible way.

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122 Athenaeus 10. 427.
123 Ibid., 10. 429.
124 Ibid., 10. 428.
125 Ibid., 10. 429.
The ancients generally adopted five distinct positions with regard to intoxicating wine. (1) They withheld it completely from some members of the society; (2) they used it while acknowledging the dangers which attended its use; (3) they liked to drink it, even objecting to restraint—wine inspectors were poorly regarded; (4) they attached great honor to it—wine-pouring was for high officials and the noble-born; (5) they looked down upon certain aspects of its use—inn keepers were not much respected. These five positions may not all appear consistent with each other. But they were all held by the ancients and often all may be found within a single society.

Early History of Domestication in the Levant

The successful propagation of grapes required little specialized technique. The fruit was therefore among the first to be cultivated in the Levant, though appearing in the archaeological record decidedly later than do cereals and legumes.126

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126 Stager, p. 2, dates the earliest evidence for grapes in the Levant to the end of the fourth millenium B.C.; see also "The Rise of Horticulture in the Levant," The Oriental Institute News and Notes, no. 75, Jan. 1982, p. 1; remarks taken from Sept. 19, 1981, address at a conference on Palestinian Archaeology in Aleppo. Stager theorizes that delay in the development of specialized horticulture may be because "In the Levant, as in the Aegean and much later in Italy, specialized horticulture was an indicator of societies that had advanced well beyond subsistence economies" ("Firstfruits," p. 20).
The Levant today is considered one of the earliest centers of grape cultivation. Following successful domestication in Anatolia, the practice progressed southward to Syro-Palestine along the EB I trade route. The donkey caravaneers who traversed this route eventually took the practice into the Egyptian Delta as well.127

Domestication of the wild Eurasian plant was soon accomplished under the ample sun and light of the region. Since then, cultivation of vitis vinifera has served to give Levantine agriculture a "distinctly Mediterranean character" which continues to the present.128

Israel's cultivation of the grape has been treated with the same enthusiasm which characterized much of early studies on the role of agriculture in ancient economic and social advancement. Chancellor has stated that "the vine is honoured [sic] before all other plants of the world."129 Teachout's similar regard for the vine gives force to his conviction that

127 Stager, "Firstfruits," pp. 3, 4. Thus Egypt shared a viticultural debt to two regions to its north: to Anatolia it owed the vine; to Mesopotamia it owed the appropriate ecological adaptation.

128 Ibid., p. 1.

Revelation from Yahweh made very clear to the Israelites that the prominence of the vineyard in their culture was not to be solely a matter of individual preference, nor primarily a matter of personal wealth; rather it was a gift of God to be enjoyed by the nation as an outstanding example of His goodness to them.130

Teachout later restates this conviction by saying that "Yahweh alone of all the 'gods' ... blessed His people with the vineyard."131

The dispensing of the varied 'gods' is not the subject of this work. Instead it investigates the nature of viticultural practice in the regions occupied by Jacob's descendants. At the same time it scrutinizes Teachout's opinions and seeks answers to three pertinent questions: (1) Was the vine given more to Israel than to other ancient nations? (2) Was the vine more given to Israel than were other products of Mediterranean agriculture? (3) Was the vine given indeed, or was its cultivation an undertaking demanding major effort and ingenuity?

The first of these questions has, in a sense, already been answered. This study's review of the history of viticulture in countries of the ANE and Mediterranean environs has touched upon the wide distribution and great popularity of the vine in these countries. The natural habitat of the vitis vinifera

130 Teachout, "Wine," p. 90.
131 Ibid., p. 102.
sylvestris extends from the Caucasus to the west Mediterranean regions of North Africa and the Iberian peninsula. It was surely not alone to Israel that the vine was given to the extent that it was given.

As for the second question, Michael Zohary's representation of the cultivated landscapes of Palestine in Bible times reveals seven sites of barley cultivation, four, of olive, eleven, of date palm, fourteen, of wheat, and six, of the vine—figures which hardly suggest a dominant position for the vine. True, the vine was regarded as a national emblem, as Zohary reports, remembered and sculptured on foreign tombstones even in the lands of Israel's exile.132 But this fondness for the vine need not be considered proof that it was more abundant than other Mediterranean staples.

The third question may most properly be addressed in the context of a review of ancient Palestinian locales and practices.

The Ecological Milieu

The seasonal contrasts in Palestine may be as strong as the topographical contrasts of the country's various subregions. The agricultural rhythm reflected both the physical and atmospheric geography of the region. Cereal agriculture on the plains was the main

focus of autumn, winter, and spring. Horticulture in the hills was the main focus of the late summer and early fall months.

Stager has noted the suitability of foothill and highland areas for the cultivation of wine and oil. He has also referred to a significant population shift to these areas in the Early Bronze Age. The possibility is that one consideration in such migration may have been the economic exploitation of their optimal climate. But this suggestion cannot now be ascertained from the botanical evidence. There is little doubt though that the foothills and highlands afforded greater "general tranquillity" than the coastal plains. Iron Age occupation may perhaps be taken as illustrative of earlier population dispersion during an era of smaller settlements and encampments. Then the stronger Philistines occupied the plains and the Hebrews the highland areas. A parallel situation would require the less competitive social units to seek a more peaceful existence in the foothills and highlands.

133 Stager, "Firstfruits," pp. 9, 11. Stager says that "the vagaries of excavation and collection procedures" do not allow for a clear representation of the true level of horticultural activity in Syro-Palestine in the Early Bronze Age. With few exceptions, excavators, when they did collect seed and charcoal remains, usually included only the obvious remains (emphasis hi*). See pp. 9-11, 2, 3.

134 Stager, ibid.
This movement from the plains to the hills was significant for viticulture, for it led to specialization in this area of agriculture, as noted below. It shows how both the inconstant social history of Palestine, and its varied geographical features have affected its viticultural history. These elements have clearly contributed to a determination of how the practice became established in Palestinian highlands. If Israel did occupy the hills during the Iron Age because it was militarily inferior to the Philistines of the plain, then its own viticultural success in those hills was also dependent upon and subordinate to sociopolitical considerations.

In their search for peace, societies in marginal areas afforded themselves an opportunity to play a significant part in an economic program identified by Eric Wolf as the "neotechnic ecotype." This form of economic interdependency first appeared "in the Mediterranean area, fostered by the tendency towards regional specialization along the shores of a sea linked by maritime traffic."135

According to this understanding, as agricultural trade increased, there occurred a parallel increase in

specializations—the plains supplied greater quantities of grain while the foothills and highlands yielded the horticultural products of their more natural adaptation. This pattern of exchange is attested in more modern times, in sixteenth-century Ottoman Palestine.136

This is not to suggest that farming in the foothills consisted solely in viticulture. The major portion of the land was given over to the cultivation of field crops, not of orchards and vineyards.137 Wet season field crops consistently formed the basis of subsistence agriculture. These demanded most of the ancient farmer's attention.

David C. Hopkins, while acknowledging the limits of biblical evidence on land use and highland topography, identifies several uses of land surrounding an agricultural village of the early Iron Age. The usages given below appear as concentric bands of cultivated terraces radiated from a nucleated village:

- Kitchen gardens and isolated tree plots
- Spring-irrigated terrace systems
- Hill and valley slope terraces
- Valley bottom fields
- Level hilltop and ridge-top fields, vineyards, and orchards

136 Stager, "Firstfruits," p. 11. Tax registers show that highland specialization in olive oil production was complemented by lowland wheat production. Surpluses of each commodity were exchanged by these regions.

Hill and valley slope fields, vineyards, and orchards
Grazing land including garigue
Maquis and forest land
Wasteland (e.g., swamps, steep slopes, exposed bedrock)
Installation loci (wine and oil presses, etc.)
Sacrosanct land (e.g., high places, sacred tree groves, grave sites).

The uses are given in order of approximate intensity.138

The same pattern of distribution characterized both hillslope cultivation and that of more level aras. Kitchen gardens and vineyards were among the crops closest to the residence. The gardens required frequent visits for cultivation, harvest, and perhaps manuring and jar-irrigation; vineyards needed surveillance, and their harvest was both bulky and perishable.139

138 David C. Hopkins, The Highlands of Canaan: Agricultural Life in the Early Iron Age. The Social World of Biblical Antiquity, Series 3. (Decatur, GA: Almond Press, JSOT Press, 1985), pp. 237, 239. See also Zvi Ron, "Agricultural Terraces in the Judean Mountains," IEJ (1966):119-120; Hopkins defines 'garigue' as "an area spotted with aromatic herbs and low bushes of less than one meter in height with bare and stony patches between them." p. 112; 'maquis' is dense thicket of tall shrubs averaging 4-5 meters in height. Hopkins is aware that biblical statements on agriculture may not be designed specifically to inform concerning agricultural operation, or the laws as they functioned to govern such operation. Still, he says, the Hebrew Bible remains "the most important source for reconstruction of Israelite agricultural systems in that it evidences their basic components" (p. 18).

139 Hopkins, p. 239. He disagrees with the view that vineyards were often far. This applied, he believes, to the era of monarchical commercialization but cannot be otherwise affirmed. In Judg 21:20, 21, the sons of Benjamin are advised to lie in wait in the
The closeness of the vineyards reflects the vulnerability of the vine and not a primacy given to its cultivation. For though the grapevine is easily domesticated, vineyards were among the later agricultural undertakings of ancient Palestinian societies. As Stager points out, the answer to the long delay in the cultivation of the vine and other fruit trees in the Levant must be the fact that "specialized horticulture was an indicator of societies that had advanced well beyond subsistence economies."140

Biblical references to the bet 'ab (father's house, Gen 31:14-16; Num 27; cf. 1 Kgs 21:3, 4) suggest that it was "the basic producing and consuming unit in ancient Highland agriculture." Its size depended upon the number of male members in the family.141

140 Stager, "Firstfruits," p. 20.
141 Hopkins, p. 253; see also Stager, "Firstfruits," p. 15; Leon Marfoe, "The Integrative Transformation: Patterns of Sociopolitical Organization in Southern Syria," BASOR 234 (1979):21. For the size and extent of the bet 'ab see Judg 6—the case of Gideon; Josh 7—Achan; 1 Sam 9—Saul; for the workings of the laws of inheritance in relation to this basic unit, see the story of the daughters of Zelophehad—Num 27. The mishp'ahah (family) comprised a number of related bet 'abot (fathers' houses), Hopkins, p. 25f. Abraham
Palestinian Viticulture

The Bronze Age

Literary records concerning Palestinian viticulture date from the reign of Pepi I of Egypt, estimated to the twenty-fourth century B.C., when an Egyptian nobleman, Weni by name, invaded Palestine and returned in peace after destroying the figs and vines of "the country of the Sand-Dwellers . . . ."142

The earliest biblical evidence on Palestinian viticulture is the story of the returning spies (Num 13:23). Its evidence reflects upon an incident during the time of Abraham. The valley of Eshcol may have received its name from the Amorite Eshcol who was Abraham's ally at the time of the rebellion of the cities of the plain (Gen 14:13, 24). The wine which Melchizedek brought forth may have been the product of a Malamat, "Ummatum in Old Babylonian Texts and Its Ugariatic and Biblical Counterparts," Ugarit-Forschungen 2 (1979) :527-36, suggests that 'ummah is the equivalent of bêt 'āb, and that the larger miSpahāh may be even larger than a village or town's population.

Bronze Age hillside or derived from the royal vineyards of the land of Shalem.\textsuperscript{143}

The birthright incident of Gen 27:19f also illustrates Palestine's association with grape and vine before the time of the Exodus.

Exodus to the Monarchy

The incident of the returning spies belongs to this period. So also do the provisions of the Mosaic code, including stipulations concerning Nazirites (Exod 29:40; Lev 23:13; Num 6; 15:5, 7, etc.). The meaning of these references is examined in chapter 3.

A number of incidents and places of this period relate directly or indirectly to this study: Gideon's beating of wheat in the winepress at Oprah, a place of uncertain location today but apparently situated in the hill country (Judg 6:2); the celebration at Shechem before Abimelech destroyed the city (Judg 9); Samson of Zorah in the land of Dan, who was set apart to God as a Nazirite from his mother's womb (Judg 13:5).\textsuperscript{144}


\textsuperscript{144} Simons, text 578, p. 296, identifies Shechem with Balatah, southeast of Nablus. The tower of Shechem, text 584, p. 297, is to be regarded as a military outpost of Shechem inhabited by the Shechemites on Mt Zalmon (Judg 9:48), probably the massif of Gebel el-Kebir, northeast of Balatah. The tower of Shechem
The Monarchy and Beyond

Among the kings directly identified with viticulture are Ahab, who respected Naboth's paternal inheritance while his queen did not (1 Kgs 21:1f), and Uzziah, who loved husbandry and was noted for owning vineyards (2 Chron 26:10).

Jehuda Feliks surmises that at the time of exile the persons whom Nebuzaradan left in charge of the vineyards were either tenant farmers, hired workers of the royal estates, or other personnel familiar with the appropriate methods of cultivation. Later the returned exiles repaired terraces, planted vines and fruit trees, but failed to establish viable farms "due to their ignorance of how to exploit the rain water for hill cultivation." Foreigners repurchased these lands and left them to lie neglected both in vineyard and orchard.145

may have been close to the village of Salim with its ancient ruin Khirbet en-Nasrallah. Judg 9 seems to show that the same locality was also called "Beth-Millo;" see vss. 6, 20. Abel-Keramim is another significant place name of this period connected with the subject of wine. Simons, text 596-97, p. 299, speculates that this site, difficult to locate, may be a place in the northern Belqa. The valley of Sorek (bright red or choice grapes), where Samson's mistress Delilah lived, may still be located today. Its name survives in the ruin site Khirbet Suriq situated on the north slope of a valley which begins thirteen miles west of Jerusalem and winds toward the sea in a northwesterly direction.

Cultivation Practices

Isa 5:1-6 gives an ample description of the process of cultivation. The NT parables of Matt 20:1-16; 21:28-31; Mark 12:1-9; and John 15:1-6 supply further insight. These passages mention several significant elements, including (1) viticulture's labor intensive function; (2) features of vineyard construction: clearing stones, erection of a tower, hewing a vat, and fencing for protection from animal predation; and (3) management modes: family farming, tenant farming, or cultivation on lands of grant.

Gershon Edelstein and others who have excavated an Iron II farm at Khirbet er-Ras are convinced that vine production installations, along with all aspects of the farming complex, were parts of a preplanned construction project.146

As in Mesopotamia, the vines climbed trees or sticks provided. Sometimes they grew low along the ground, or, as in Egypt, on trellis work made of cane reed.147 Sometimes a cord was stretched alongside the vines. As their tendrils twined around this cord, the vines grew in straight lines, giving the appearance of an ordered vineyard. The vineyard was planted with

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147 Forbes, 3:75; Lutz, p. 62.
eight to ten such rows;\textsuperscript{148} it was watched over from a tower constructed with the best view of all agricultural farmland,\textsuperscript{149} and tended during the two-month period from mid-June to mid-August.\textsuperscript{150}

By this time the vines would be in blossom (Cant 2:12, 13; Hos 14:7). Later, as the grapes ripened, the ground would be hoed and the vines pruned with a small knife-like instrument with a hooked blade—\textsuperscript{---}the pruninghook of Mic 4:3 and Isa 2:4.\textsuperscript{151}

The preferred grape may have been a dark blue variety which yielded a dark red wine.\textsuperscript{152}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{148} J. Albright, p. 93.
\item \textsuperscript{149} Lawrence T. Geraty et al., "Madaba Plains Project: A Preliminary Report of the 1984 Season at Tell el-'Umeiri and Vicinity" (BASOR, forthcoming), reveal that the size of these towers requires them to be seen as a major undertaking in the establishment of farmsteads. The entire bet 'ab may have agreed upon the best site, united in the construction, and later cooperated in the watchman's work. Foundation stones often averaged $0.90 \times 0.75 \times 0.50$ m and the initial appearance of the towers is as forbidding as any military tower of Ammonite times. The towers are not considered military installations because they are not situated in strategic military locations. Instead they overlook precious farmland and appear to fit the description of Isa 5.
\item \textsuperscript{150} J. Albright, p. 93.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Pruning also took place before leaves showed during the winter rains, Hopkins, p. 228.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Lutz, p. 64; S. M. Paul, "Classifications of Wine Sources," IEJ 24 (1975): 42-44, lists red wine as one of nine different qualities of wine mentioned in Mesopotamian and Rabbinic sources. Others mentioned include 'white wine,' 'clear/pure wine,' 'new fresh wine,' 'old wine,' 'sweet,' 'bitter,' 'sour,' and
\end{itemize}
The Gezer calendar seems to clearly describe agricultural seasons as they were followed for centuries before the date of its recording in the late tenth century. It suggests that the vintage occurred toward the close of the Israelite agricultural year:

His two months are (olive) harvest,
His two months are planting (grain),
His two months are late planting
His month is hoeing up of flax
His month is harvest of barley
His month is harvest and feasting
His two months are vine tending,

'boiled.' Wine of Helbon is named, he says, for its Mesopotamian provenance. The name is not qualitative. The fact that wine was known by geographical region is a strong indicator of extension trade. Other territories which have given their names to wines are Lebanon, Kerem-Hattel, and a possible Beit Kahil/Kohel, tentatively identified by N. Avigad, "Hebrew Inscriptions on Wine Jars," IEJ 22 (1972):4, 5, and situated in a wine growing region. A. Demsky, "'Dark Wine' from Judah," IEJ 22 (1972):233-34, thinks that 'kohel' should be considered a varietal characteristic rather than a place, "perhaps the heavy, undiluted wine" from the Mishnah (Ber 7:5), on which see A. Cohen, The Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Berakot (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1921), Ber 51a. Anson F. Rainey, "Wine from the Royal Vineyards," BASOR 245 (1982):57-62, believes that the lmlk seal impressions of Hezekiah's reign, discovered on jar handles throughout Judah, identify four locales of the Judean hill country, Ziph and Socoh in the south, Hebron in the center, and mmâst probably from the north, where wine was collected from the royal vineyards. He quotes 2 Chron 26:10 to show that Uzziah's vineyards were "in the hills and in the Carmel" as Rainey represents the text's third geographic delineation. That zone was famous for its viticulture. Its town names include Anab (Josh 11:21) in the south; Eshcol in the center near Hebron; Beth-haccerem (Josh 15:59a, LXX; Jer 6:1; Neh 3:14); and Qaryat el-CInab, the Arabic name for biblical Kiriath-jearim in the north; p. 59.
His month is summer fruit.\textsuperscript{153}

For a long time the Israelites followed the monthly regime which they encountered upon entry into Canaan. They used the Canaanite month names and numbered the months from spring, regardless of whether the year was reckoned from spring or fall. A change appears in the monarchic period when Solomon's regnal year is found to be reckoned from fall to fall.\textsuperscript{154} The Gezer calendar appears to reflect this approach since its horticulture (tending of vine, gathering of summer fruit) occurs at the close of the year and is known to have taken up the summer months. After the exile, Babylonian month names were employed by the Jews instead of the Canaanite names preserved in the Pentateuch and in 1 Kgs 6:1, 37, 38; 8:2.

The Vintage

At harvestime large baskets were placed below those vinestalks which did not run along the ground to catch the grapes before they fell to the ground.\textsuperscript{155}

White grapes were sold for eating while grapes for pressing were taken to the presses in baskets much


\textsuperscript{154} Thiele, p. 28; Hoffner, pp. 5-8.

\textsuperscript{155} Lutz, p. 66.
like they were in Egypt and are today in some European countries.156

The grapes were pressed in vats usually consisting of three sections: an upper trough hewn to a depth of two or three feet (c. 66-90 cm.), either circular or rectangular in form; a lower trough, half the circumference of the larger, but much deeper; and a conduit of some sort connecting the two.157

After a few days in the sun to improve their sugar content, some of the grapes were placed in the upper trough (gat) of the wine vat and crushed with bare feet.158 The juice flowed through the conduit into the deeper lower trough (yeqeb).

The joy of this season is manifest in Scripture (Isa 62:8, 9; Prov 3:9, 10; Joel 2:23, 24).

Apart from the white grapes which were sold for eating and the wine producing grapes which were crushed, a portion of the harvest was also dried and stored as raisins.159

156 Edlin, p. 149; Hopkins, p. 229.


158 In some small European wineries today the grapes are still crushed by foot. The method is found less likely to release astringent matter because seeds and skins are not crushed; Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, 1:560.

159 Hopkins, p. 229.
Fermentation

Whenever possible the juice was allowed to settle before the clarified liquid was transferred to another vat. Presses sometimes had as many as four vats, each one a settling stage, so that the final beverage might be as pure as possible. Lutz claims that fermentation commenced within six to twelve hours of the time the juice was placed in jars or skins,160 while Schultz believes that it began in the vat where the liquid was left for four to seven days.161

Later, possibly as much as a year later, the new wine, at this point called 'yeast wine' (םמארתמ—wine settled on its lees or dregs, Isa 25:6; Jer 48:11; Zeph 1:12), probably because yeast was used to accelerate the fermentation process, was poured into other wineskins or jars. This process seems to have reduced its harshness (Lk 5:39); it also appears to have helped reduce thickening.162

Before being used, wine was filtered either through a cloth or a willowwork.163

160 Lutz, p. 67.
162 Lutz, p. 67; Schultz, p.938.
163 Lutz, p. 67.
Gibeon

James B. Pritchard, excavator of ancient Gibeon, with its sixty-three storage vats and 25,000 gallons holding capacity, makes the candid statement that "only a little is known from literary and pictorial sources of preclassical times about the process of making wine in the ancient Near East." His reconstruction of the process of winemaking at Gibeon, on the basis of all available evidence, is as follows:

Stage 1. Grapes were brought in from the north and spread out in an open space on the north side of the filtering tanks.

Stage 2. Grapes were crushed by foot after some unspecified period of lying out in the open.

Stage 3. The juice was separated from the skins, seeds, pulp, and stems, after being dipped into an intermediate basin from which the juice ran into a plastered tank.

Stage 4. In the plastered tank the juice was allowed to ferment naturally.

Stage 5. The juice was then dipped out and channeled through a trough cut in the rock, into a filtering basin where further refinement took place. The filtering system consisted of two cylindrical tanks.

2 ft (c. 60 cm.) in diameter and 2 ft deep, with an
opening between, perhaps for decanting.

Stage 6. The juice (now wine) was then decanted
and stored in cellars in large jars sealed with olive
oil, at 650 F. (18° C.). Export wine was stored in
smaller jars with labeled handles; the jars were capped
with clay stoppers held in place by a cord attached to
the two handles. 165

The process as described by Pritchard conforms
to the pattern of other reports on wine production in
the ANE in that it only suggests how alcoholic wine
might have been produced. The tank of stage 4 is
therefore assumed to be the fermenting tank. It is in
this tank that the lees were allowed to settle. This
settling was a necessary process, and would itself
adequately explain the subsequent removal of the liquid
from this first tank—a settling tank rather than, a
priori, a fermenting tank. In the second tank the
liquid was apparently more carefully filtered, partly
because some of the dregs would have been stirred up
during the process of transfer.

At the first transfer, to the intermediate basin
of stage 3, the juice was dipped; but in the opinion of

165 Pritchard, Gibeon, pp. 90-98; see all of ch.
The press at Gibeon was 3 ft (c. 1 m.) in diameter, and 1
ft. 10 in. (55 cm.) deep, p. 96.
the excavators, the final removal to storage jars involved gentle pouring which would not disturb the sediment. Patton cites a Dr. Ure, identified as an eminent chemist, who states that this elimination of glutinous materials and other sediment, either by filtration or by subsidence, contributed specifically to the production of an unfermented beverage.166

The process of fermentation did not necessarily occur in the tanks. Schultz' opinion is that the first fermentation took place in the tanks where the juice was left for four to seven days.167 But Lutz' opinion is that fermentation commenced six to twelve hours after the juice was placed in jars or skins.168

The difference between these positions is not as significant as at first appears. They both establish that Pritchard's reconstruction is open to question. Lutz does not present the fermentation process as beginning in the tanks. Schultz, who does, considers it as beginning in the last of three or four tanks into which the juice might go during the entire process. Pritchard suggests a much earlier beginning. The uncertainty emphasizes the limitations of current

167 Schultz, p.938.
168 Lutz, p. 67.
knowledge about the process. On the basis of this uncertainty it seems unsafe to insist that fermentation necessarily took place before the wine could be stored.

Pritchard reports that the expedition successfully tested a suggestion of the chief winemaker at Latrum, thirteen miles west of the excavation site at el-Jib, that wine might be kept from turning into vinegar if it was sealed with olive oil. The excavators stored a jar of wine for a month in the cellars of Gibeon and were delighted to find, at the end of the month, that the wine was perfectly preserved.
The success of this procedure suggests at least the equal possibility of the preservation of unfermented wine (grape juice), provided that such juice could also be produced at the winepress in accordance with the implications of Lutz' understanding. This opinion is supported by most chemists and wine makers and distributors whom this researcher has consulted. Dr. Dwain Ford, professor of Organic Chemistry at Andrews University, explains that the oil would provide a practical barrier to any oxidization of the grape juice.

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169 Pritchard, Gibeon, pp. 94, 95.
170 Ibid.
even if the oil itself should turn rancid through exposure to the air. 171

The permanent linkage of oil and wine in OT literature and in Palestinian agricultural practice may well be explained on the basis of the dependence of the wine industry on the availability of olive oil, as well as on the fact of climatic convenience.

**Classical References to Unfermented Wine (Grape Juice)**

Pritchard's simple and valid method for the preservation of unfermented wine, which it appears could also have been available to ancient Palestine, may be set alongside other equally practical explanations of the classical authors. Cato (2nd century B.C.) recommends as follows:

> If you wish to keep grape juice through the whole year, put the grape juice in an amphora, seal the stopper with pitch, and sink in the pond. Take it out after thirty days; it will remain sweet the whole year. 172

The process would have yielded a waterproof, airtight, and well-cooled bottle of wine, as the pitch congealed into place.

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171 Telephone interview with Dr. Dwain Ford, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, MI, July 11, 1986.

172 Cato 120.1.
Pliny, of the first century A.D., provides instruction for preserving must or unfermented wine:

Between the sirops and real wine is the liquor that the Greeks call aigleucos—this is our permanent must.* Care is needed for its production, as it must not be allowed to 'boil'—that is the word they use to denote the passage of must into wine. Consequently, as soon as the must is taken from the vat and put into casks, they plunge the casks in water till midwinter passes and regular cold weather sets in.173

Pliny's suggestion ("as soon as the must is taken from the vat") is in agreement with the inference from Lutz' position that fermentation did not necessarily begin in the vats.

Columella, writing like Pliny in the first century A.D., comments at length on preserving boiled-down must, which, "though carefully made, is like wine, apt to go sour."174 He describes the making of must:

That must may remain always as sweet as though it were fresh, do as follows. Before the grape-skins are put under the press, take from the vat some of the freshest possible must and put it in a new wine-jar; then daub it over and cover it carefully with pitch, that thus no water may be able to get in. Then sink the whole flagon in a pool of cold, fresh water so that no part of it is above the surface. Then after forty days take it out of the water. The must will then keep sweet for as much as a year.175

173 Pliny the Elder 14. 11. 83. Although Teachout argues that Pliny considers this must as one type of vinum—Teachout, "Wine," p. 398—the fact is that Pliny considers this must to be something "between the sirops and real wine."

174 Columella 12. 20. 1.

175 Ibid., 12. 29. 1.
Columella also outlines how must, after being treated according to complex processes of boiling, skimming, the addition of herbs, etc., could be used to preserve (fermented) wine.176 The above-cited passage also shows how qualities expressed by the astringent material needed to be kept from the beverage which was to be preserved unfermented ("Before the grape-skins are put under the press, take from the vat . . .").

Rabbinical Tradition

Rabbinical writings supply some indication of the differences between wine, strong drink, and vinegar [spoiled wine] which the traditions recognized. Berakot 27a states that "wine forty days old was poured on the altar." A. Cohen comments as follows, "Wine of the drink offering must be at least forty days old, otherwise it is not called 'strong drink' as required by Num 28:11.177


177 A. Cohen, B. Ber 27a. Maimonides' code states that "Wine fresh from the press may be set aside as heave offering, under the presumption that it will remain wine up to forty days thereafter." The Code of Maimonides, Book 7: The Book of Agriculture, (trans. Isaac Klein, Yale Judaica Series): Heave Offerings. 5. 25. The suggestion may be that fermentation might take place during this time since the beverage "fresh from the press" may be so clearly distinguished from 'strong drink' as to require at least forty days to become the latter. Maimonides' condition that it remain 'wine' also suggests that it may sometimes have spoiled.
The traditions also addressed the question of spoiled wine. Treatise III: Heave Offerings, of the Code of Maimonides, explains that if wine set aside as a heave offering turns into vinegar (spoils), the heave offering is invalid, "providing that the wine in the jar was known to have turned into vinegar before it was set aside as heave offering." 178

The Roman authors have shown that the ancients were capable of preserving unfermented wine for several months. Maimonides' code indicates that wine set aside for heave offering was usually "fresh from the press." This may refer either to a fermented or an unfermented beverage. It is unlikely, though, that the fermented beverage would be described as "wine fresh from the press;" this wine was to be thrice checked to ensure that it had not turned to vinegar:

during the east wind season following the Festival of Tabernacles, during the budding season of ripe grape berries, and during the season when unripe grapes begin to fill with juice. 179

Since the Feast of Tabernacles took place in Tishri/Ethanim (the 7th month), and since grapes did not start filling with juice until the summer months, it is evident that wine for the heave offering was expected to maintain its acceptable condition for most of the year.

178 Maimonides, Heave Offerings. 5. 22.
179 Ibid., 5. 25.
Summary on Viticulture in Ancient Palestine

In the foothills and highlands of Canaan there was no need to construct the artificial plots required in Babylonia. Still, viticulture in ancient Palestine was in many ways similar to the practice in other ANE countries. It was practiced domestically, and it was practiced commercially. It is possible that the first commercial undertakings date from the Early Bronze Age when those who moved to the highlands were able to exploit the climatic conditions there to specialize in grape and wine production.

Vineyards were labor intensive and farmed by the bàt 'āb, by tenant farmers, or cultivated on lands of grant. The late summer and early fall months were a time of labor and rejoicing as the grapes ripened and the vintage was celebrated.

Information on the production of wine allows for the possibility that both fermented and unfermented wine were produced and preserved, and later Jewish tradition indicates some sensitivity to differences between fresh wine, strong drink, and spoiled wine, including an implication that 'strong drink' was actually the term used for wine of a certain age.

The following chapter examines the Hebrew Scriptures on their usage of the term yayin, the most frequently occurring word for 'wine' in the OT.
CHAPTER III

YAYIN IN OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE

This chapter investigates the OT usage of the Hebrew term yayin to establish the attitude of the Hebrew Scriptures to the use of alcohol.

Etymology

The Hebrew word yayin is the OT word most often used to signify wine. It appears 141 times, occurring in every historical period, and in all but eight books of the OT (Ruth, 1 & 2 Kings, Ezra, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, and Malachi). Of the four divisions of Hebrew Scripture (the Pentateuch, the Former Prophets, the Latter Prophets, and the Writings), the greatest concentration of usage is by the Latter Prophets (Isaiah to Malachi). Here yayin is used fifty-three times, thirty-five times in the major prophets (Jeremiah—fifteen, Isaiah—fourteen, Daniel—four, and Ezekiel—two), and eighteen times in the minor prophets (Amos—five, Hosea—four, Joel, Micah, Zechariah—two each, and Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai—one each).
Next in descending order of concentration come the Writings, with forty-five occurrences, of which the books of Proverbs (ten) and Canticles (seven) have the most. Then follow Esther (six), Nehemiah (five), the Psalms (four), Job, Ecclesiastes, 1 & 2 Chronicles (three each), and Lamentations (one).

In the Pentateuch, there are twenty-six occurrences as follows: Genesis (ten), Numbers (eight), Deuteronomy (five), Leviticus (two), and Exodus (one). The Former Prophets use the term yayin seventeen times, as follows: 1 Samuel (seven), Judges (five), 2 Samuel (three), Joshua (two).

Attempts to determine the etymology of the term have sometimes involved "desperate" effort.180

180 Stager, p. 4, who thus describes A. van Selms' proposals on "The Etymology of Yayin, 'Wine,'" JNSL 3 (1974):76-83; van Selms posits a Northwest Semitic etymology for the term. Teachout, "Use of 'Wine'" p. 110, expresses uncertainty about the prospects for acceptance of van Selms' position; he also holds that "it certainly does merit careful consideration," and submits that whether van Selms' theories may be demonstrated or not "The common use of [yayin] in Hebrew and the earlier Ugaritic argues strongly for its intrinsic relationship to the Northwest Semitic dialects. Six decades before van Selms, Morris Jastrow, Jr., "Wine in the Pentateuchal Codes," JAOS 33 (1913):183-84, considered the matter of the etymology of yayin as a Hebrew loan-word to be a "vexed question;" van Selms prefices his own proposals with the concession that all the dictionaries he knew of "agree that Hebrew yayin is a non-Semitic word," p. 76. Teachout, "Use of Wine," pp. 107-110, 248, and van Selms, pp. 79, 82. 83, therefore represent a little vindicated option. They identify yayin with a verb yānā meaning 'to oppress,' 'maltreat,' or some such action "characterized by violence," van Selms, p. 80.
The actual source of the term is variously proposed as the Caucasus, Hittite Anatolia, or vaguely, "West Shemites."

It is apparent that the origins of yayin remain uncertain. While a consensus exists for its importation into West Semitic, a minority, at least from the early nineteenth century to the present, has supported the view that the word is originally Semitic.


182 Stager, p. 4, based on John Pairman Brown, "The Mediterranean Vocabulary of the Vine," VT 19 (1969):147-48. Brown's list of cognates embraces languages of the Mediterranean sea and littoral such as Cretan (FOINO) [sic], Cypriote (wo-i-no), and Latin (vinum), Hebrew and Samaritan, Ugaritic (yn), etc., as well as Hittite [wi?-]ya-na-as, [sic]. It is this last suggestion which Stager takes up. Brown also includes Arabic (wayn, black grapes), and Sabean (wynhmw, their vineyards). But he is uncertain both of the source of the word and of the thing it denotes, p. 148. Davidson lists the word under win, claiming Furst as authority for this root; Davidson, s.v. win. KBL, s.v. yayin, lists the term as non-Semitic.

183 BDB, s.v. yayin, notes that opinion is divided on the matter of whether Assyrian cognate inu is a loan-word from "West Shemites." The BDB citation implies further feeling for yayin as originally Semitic, and Teachout, "Use of 'Wine,'" p. 110, n. 1, notes that John Parkhurst, in A Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament, n.p., 1817, p. 469, made the suggestion of original Semitic yayin as related to yānā since the second decade of the 19th century. Van Selms finds support for inu as a Canaanitic loan-word from W. Von Soden, Akkadisches Handworterbuch, I, 1965, s.v. inu; van Selms, p. 76.
Some Significant Synonyms and Yayin Phrases

Even-Shoshan identifies four OT synonyms of yayin. They are søbe' (wine or wheat-beer), ċäsēs (fresh juice), tīṭōs (grape harvest or new wine), and šēkār (strong drink).184

Sōbe' occurs twice (Isa 1:22; Hos 4:18) and is traditionally rendered 'wine' (KJV, RV, RSV), but is thought by some to be possibly a kind of wheat-beer.185 Ċäsēs (Joel 1:5; 3:18; Amos 9:13, etc.) applies primarily to the juice which flows as the harvest of the vine is pressed, and therefore stands for "fresh wine"

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184 Even-Shoshan, s.v. yayin; R. L. Harris, "Yayin," TWOT (1980), entry 864, reports twelve occurrences of šēkār in combination with yayin; in another article the number is given as twenty-one out of twenty-three occurrences of šēkār; see Victor P. Hamilton, "šēkār," TWOT (1980), entry 2388. The actual number is twenty-one (Lev 10:9; Num 6:3 (twice); Deut 14:26; 29:6; Judg 13:4, 7, 14; 1 Sam 1:15; Prov 20:1; 31:4, 6; Isa 5:11, 22; 24:9; 28:7 (thrice); 29:9; 56:12; Mic 2:11). This study gives more extensive treatment to the term šēkār in a discussion of the category "Yayin in Daily Life." For a review of other relevant vocabulary see Appendix A: "Some Hebrew and Aramaic Words Relevant to the Study."

185 Even-Shoshan, s.v. yayin; KBL, s.v. søbe'; the NASB renders the term as "drink" in Isa 1:22, and "liquor" in Hos 4:18. Sawbā'im, taken as the qal active participle masculine plural of sābā' ("to quaff to satiety", Strong, OT 5433; "drink largely," BDB, s.v. sābā'), is translated 'drunkards' Eze 23:42, RV, NASB, NIV (marginal reading), RSV (which Harper's Study Bible indicates is an uncertain reading), TLB; other translations say "Sabians": NEB, NIV, KJV, Louis II, Reina Valera; the LXX (anthrōpōn ēkontas ēk tēs ērēmou), is similar to the Vulgate (et in viris qui de multitudine hominum . . . veniebant de desertō); a reading reflected in Douay "the multitude of men . . . that came in from the desert," and JB "the crowd of men brought in from the desert."
or "grape juice." In Joel 1:5 the prophet warns of the imminent fulfilment of Deut 28:38, 39: "You shall bring out much seed to the field but you shall gather in little, for the locust shall consume it. You shall plant and cultivate vineyards, but the worm shall devour them." Joel's ravaging locusts, an army "mighty and without number" (1:6), makes the vine "a waste" (vs. 7), and cuts off the ġāṣīs from the mouths of wine drinkers (vs. 5). But in the restoration, when the Lord dwells in Zion "the mountains will drip with ġāṣīs" (3:18). This statement is similar to that of Amos: "The days are coming, declares the Lord, when the plowman will overtake the reaper and the treader of grapes him who sows seed; when the mountains will drip ġāṣīs" (Am 9:13). Neither of these references appears to indicate an intoxicant. Amos' image is that of a vineyard turned into a vast vat where "the treader of grapes [overtakes] him who sows seed." 9:13. From this treading, ġāṣīs flows.

Joel also seems to suggest (1:5) that ġāṣīs may sometimes be used to refer to an intoxicant. However, Teachout has claimed that the verb ḫākar indicates both the idea of inebriation and that of "filling."186 His view is apparently supported by Edward William Lane whose discussion of the Arabic cognate includes evidence

186 Teachout, "Use of 'Wine,'" pp. 129, 132, 134.
of its use not only to express violent rage (possibly to be understood as being full of rage), but to describe a watering-trough becoming full. 187

This suggestion, applied to šikkôrim (Joel 1:5), would alter the understanding that ĉâstès in this verse refers to an intoxicant. Instead of the translation "Awake drunkards," the passage would read "Awake great drinkers." Such a view appears to do justice to the term ĉâstès, which is defined as unfermented grape juice, and as such is hardly the beverage whose loss the drunkards would lament. 188

The same suggestion applied to Isa 49:26 may explain the promise that Zion's oppressors will become drunk (yiškârûn) with their own blood as with sweet wine (ĉâstès). Evidently, a more consistent representation of the simile of ĉâstès allows the translation of yiškârûn as 'they will drink deeply/largely.'

Tîrûq (Gen 27:28, 37; Num 18:12; Deut 18:4; Neh 5:11; 13:5, 12, etc.), a much more popular term than ĉâstès, is most consistently represented as the harvest of the vineyard, as dâgân is the harvest of grain, and

187 AEL, s.v. škr. Teachout makes use of this very reference.  
188 KBL, s.v. ĉâstès.
Of as many as twelve OT words for corn/grain, none is said to be brought as tithe or taxes but dagān (Neh 13:5, 12; see also Deut 12:17; 14:23). In 2 Chron 31:5, it is abundant firstfruits of dagān which are brought in. In forty occurrences, dagān is never part of a prepared meal as is cabūr (Josh 5:11), except possibly in Isa 62:8 (where the promise is that Zion’s enemies will no longer be given its dagān for their food; see p.), or where eaten by Aaron’s family, the very ones permitted to eat the tithes and firstfruits (Num 18:12).

The grain of the threshingfloor is dagān (Num 18:27; Hos 9:1), as qāmāh (standing grain) is the growing or grown-up stalk (Exod 22:6; Deut 16:9; Judg 15:5). A metaphorical usage of the term provided by Ps 78:24 sees the manna "rained down" for Israel as dagān from heaven. In this instance the understanding of harvest is still clear, since the Israelites were instructed to gather the manna and then prepare it as they chose (Exod 16:23).

189 See Watson, p. 5, who speaks of a strange misconstruction of the meanings of tīrōs and yishār which has led to their being considered as liquids. Freer, p. 353, does accept tīrōs as a liquid; but he nevertheless considers the term as "an innocent word" whose translation as 'wine' has resulted in much confusion.
The usual term for oil in the OT is ֶֽסֶּמֶּן (193 times), while יִשְׁהָֽר occurs twenty-three times. The most consistent distinction in usage between these two main terms appears to be that יִשְׁהָֽר stands for the produce of the land, usually as divine blessing (Deut 7:13; 11:14), while ֶֽסֶּמֶּן is employed for the myriad commonplace and ritual uses of oil in the life of ancient Israel: food (1 Chron 9:29), anointing (Exod 31:11), fuel for lamps (Exod 35:14), etc. There are apparently only two exceptions (Deut 8:8; Jer 40:10) where ֶֽסֶּמֶּן instead of יִשְׁהָֽר is used to describe the produce of the land.

Of its thirty-eight occurrences ָּיִרְדָּ֣דֵס is connected with ָּדָֽגָּן and יִשְׁהָֽר nineteen times: as firstfruits, taxes, or tithes (Num 18:12; Deut 18:4; Neh 5:11; 13:5, 12); as destroyed by the invader who Moses predicted would "eat the offspring of your herd and the produce of your ground," and would leave "no grain (דָּגָֽנ), new wine (יָּיִרְדָּ֣דֵס), or oil (יִשְׁהָֽר)" Deut 28:51); as stored (2 Chron 32:28); as the blessing of God (Jer 31:12; Ho 2:8), etc. Another eleven times, ָּיִרְדָּ֣דֵס is linked with ָּדָֽגָּן alone as blessing or the occasion of joy (Gen 27:28, 37; Ps 4:7); as produce of the land (Deut 33:28; 2 Kgs 18:32), etc. ָּיִרְדָּ֣דֵס may be treaded to produce
yayin (Mic 6:15) and is here translated 'grapes' in the NASB.190  

Tirōš may also suffer from drought, with dāgān and yishār (Joel 1:10). Tirōš does seem to stand at times for freshly expressed grape juice, for Prov 3:10 and Joel 2:24 speak of the vats overflowing with tirōš. But it now appears that this may not always be its meaning. Isaiah's usage (62:8) declaring that foreigners will not drink Jerusalem's tirōš is no doubt metaphorical, for "those who gather it will drink it" (vs. 9). It is grapes and not wine, which are harvested. The metaphor may apparently be read either as wine being gathered, or grapes being drunk.191  

Even-Shoshan also lists several phrases employing the term, including yayin weyēškār (wine and strong

190 The NASB almost always translates tirōš as 'new wine.'

191 KBL explains Isa 62:9 as a reference to "garnering in wine"; KBL, s.v. qābas. Gesenius explains tirōš, as 'must' or 'new wine', so called "because in intoxicating, it takes possession of the brain," s.v. tīrōsh. This explanation, and that of KBL, that tirōš is an archaic word for 'wine' used in ritual and poetic texts (KBL, s.v. tirōš), do not seem to agree with the evidence adduced here. J. F. Ross' pleasant view of tīrōš, in "wine," IDB (1962), 4:849, as "freshly expressed grape juice" may apply less frequently than the basic meaning of the harvest of the vineyard. Tīrōš, found in the cluster (Isa 65:8), may more closely approximate, in OT Scripture, the fruit of the vine than the juice of that fruit, particularly since it may be treader to yield yayin (Mic 6:15).
drink), lehem wāyāyin (bread and wine), gepen hayyayin (the grapevine), mišteh hayyayin (feast of wine), nō'd[dot] yayin (wineskin[s]), nebel yayin (jug of wine), and yēyn mištayw ("the wine which he drank"). These phrases both illustrate the varied usage of the term and suggest the extent of the beverage's popularity.

Overview of Semantic Range

The Hebrew Scriptures do not explicitly identify all contexts in which yayin is to be understood as an intoxicant. While fifty-eight references are quite clearly to an intoxicating beverage, almost all the rest are open to varying interpretation. Of these remaining eighty-three, this writer lists thirty-two instances where yayin may be seen as unfermented.

192 Even-Shoshan, s.v. yayin.
193 Ibid., Gen 14:18; Neh 5:15.
194 Ibid.; Num 6:4; Judg 13:4 ("anything that comes from the vine").
195 Ibid.; Esth 5:6; 7:2, 7, 8.
196 Ibid; Josh 9:4, 13; 1 Sam 16:20.
197 Ibid; 1 Sam 1:24; 10:3; 25:18; 2 Sam 16:1.
198 Ibid.; Dan 1:5, 8, 16.
199 See Appendix C, "Condition of the Beverage" for listings of yayin as intoxicant, unfermented, prohibited, and approved. Teachout, "Use of 'Wine,'" pp. 353-358, lists seventy-one. For a suggestion as to one reason for the difference between Teachout's
Within the ambiguous category, seventeen instances of \textit{yayin} include some statement approving varied use. It is required for libation (Lev 23:13; Num 15:5-1; 28:14; etc.), appears in complimentary metaphor (Hos 14:7: "His renown will be like the wine of Lebanon"); also Amos 9:14; etc.), or is otherwise portrayed as an object of desire (Isa 55:1: "Come, buy wine and milk without money and without cost; also Jer 40:10, 12, etc.). Within this same ambiguous category, in almost a score of instances, \textit{yayin} is the subject of definite prohibition. In Lev 10:9, priests approaching to serve are forbidden to drink; in Num 6:3, 4, \textit{yayin} is forbidden to Nazirites (see also Judg 13:4, 7, 14, etc.). Sometimes it is forbidden to Israel as a consequence of their evil course (Amos 5:11; Mic 6:15; Zeph 1:13). In Jeremiah's account of the Rechabite incident, where wine is viewed as a taboo, the term appears seven times.

In thirty-eight other instances within this ambiguous category where neither approval nor prohibition is explicit, occurrences cover wineskins and wine jugs (nō'd[āt], nebel [nīb[lē] yayin, 1 Sam 16:20; Josh 9:4, 13; 1 Sam 10: 3; 25:18, etc.), gifts for celebration or refreshment (Deut 14:26; 2 Sam 16:1, 2; 2

numbering and that of this study, see the note to "Yayin as Unfermented," in Appendix C.
Chron 2: 10, 15, etc.), and several other general uses which appear in this study under the heading "Wine in Daily Life" (see later section of this chapter). Seven instances from the Song of Solomon (Cant 1:2, 4; 2:4; 4:10; 5:1; 7:9; 8:2) are also listed here. Ezekiel's 'wine of Helbon' (Eze 27:18), appearing in this category, may well have been a fermented variety. Its high esteem among brands of Assurbanipal's preference suggests such a conclusion.200

Two of the thirty-two cases of yayin considered as non-intoxicating are mentioned in Gen 49:11, 12, in Jacob's benediction of Judah, whose prosperity is figured under the aspect of a vine, thriving and strong, to which a grazing donkey is tied.201 The profusion of the produce of this vine gives wine enough for washing its owner's garments. The interpretation of Jacob's imagery bears some elaboration.

Excursus on Gen 49:11, 12

N. Avigad's review of "Hebrew Inscriptions on Wine Jars" includes some brief speculation on one inscription

200 Forbes, 3:73, names 'wine of Helbon' as second on Assurbanipal's list of ten best wines.

201 Moldenke and Moldenke, p. 243, state that vines sometimes attained a diameter of one and a half feet.
appearing on a jug of uncertain provenance, said to have come from the Hebron area.202

This inscription, lỳhzyhu vyn kḥlī, Avigad takes to suggest the provenance of a village named Kohel, four kilometers northwest of Hebron, and situated in a wine growing region.203

The fields and villages of Hebron were, of course, awarded to Caleb (Josh 14:13, 14; 1 Chron 6:56), who represented the tribe of Judah on the ill-fated scouting expedition of Num 13. (See vs. 6).

A. Demsky takes up a discarded suggestion of Avigad's to relate the inscription to the form ḥaklīlī which occurs in Gen 49:12:

\[
\text{ḥaklīlī  cēynāyim miyyāyin}
\]
\[
\text{wū leben-šinnayim meḥalāb}
\]

The NASB translates this passage as follows:

His eyes are dull from wine,
And his teeth white from milk.

This reading emphasizes an appearance of intoxication (eyes dull from wine) and differs from those (NIV, TLB, etc.) which see ḥaklīlī cēynāyim as highlighting the physical appeal of the Judahite character. At issue for Demsky is the most appropriate understanding of Kohel, a question which leads to the

202 Avigad, pp. 4, 5.
203 Ibid.
focus of this excursus: the most appropriate translation of ḥakliṭṭ, and consequently, of Gen 49:11, 12.

Demsky accepts, as Avigad does not, that kohel, of the wine jar inscription, bears upon varietal characteristic (age, vine, color), rather than provenance.204

Demsky sees ḥakliṭṭ as a metathesized, reduplicated form of the root khl (to be dark), and would therefore translate with E. A. Speiser, in the Anchor Bible, "his eyes are darker than wine."205 Such a reading overrides the image of tribal prosperity in favor of a comment on the striking physical appearance which Jacob here predicts will characterize Judah's descendants.206

204 A. Demsky, pp. 233, 234.


206 Translators who see in Gen 49:11, 12 images of physical appeal (eyes darker than wine, teeth whiter than milk—NIV, TLB, JFB, vol. 1, pt. 1:267), contrast with those who see in it a picture of satiety occasioned by abundance ("red with wine," "white with milk," KJV, RSV, Louis II, Reina Valera; "dull from wine," "white from milk," --NASB; ḥakliṭṭ, for Holladay, translates as "sparkling;" but for KBL, on which Holladay is generally based, the word stands for "eyes dull from wine." Holladay, KBL, s.v. ḥakliṭṭ; "cloudy with wine," is JB's translation). Pirot and Clamer, 1:500, argue that a negative inference in Prov 23:29, "лемת ḥakliṭṭ כְּנַּֽהַיָּ֣ין,--"who has redness of eyes?", does not here compel the same implied condemnation, since the emphasis
The dignity, the physical power, the persuasive prowess which inhere in previous comments on the Judahite character (Gen 37:27; 38; 43:3-5, 8-10; 44:14-34; 46:28) constitute together a compelling argument against a vision of bleary-eyed intoxication, and decidedly in favor of those readings which stand compatible with a strong, ambassadorial personality. The LXX reads charopoioi of ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν ὑπερ οἴνον—"his eyes are more graceful than wine."207 Pulchriores—"more beautiful," is the Vulgate's reading.208

The Hebrew Scriptures do not portray bleary-eyed intoxication as compatible with spiritual ascendancy; and whereas in Nah 1:10; Hab 2:15, it occurs among the politically or militarily superior, it is not presented as to their benefit or in their honor.

This realization (on the actual import of ḫākliṯ ʿaynāyim) is but one of many which inhere in the here is on the abundance of wine, not its indulgence. "Si le terme est prit en mauvaise part dans Prov 23:29, comme signe d'ivresse, ce n'est pas ici le cas puisqu'il souligne l'abondance du vin." The position of this commentary acknowledges the tone of approval in the passage though that approval is said to be of abundance of wine rather than attractiveness of appearance. See also A. R. Hulst, Old Testament Translation Problems; Helps for Translators Series, vol. 1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), pp. 5, 6.

207 The Hexaglot Bible, The LXX, Gen 49:12.
208 Ibid., The Vulgate, Gen 49:12.
patriarchal prognostication of Gen 49:8-12. The passage has long been celebrated as a major utterance of Israelite antiquity on the coming of the Messiah. "It is in fact," declare Pirot and Clamer, "the first prophecy, explicitly and strictly of Messianic nature, which alludes to a personal Messiah.209

Elements of vs. 9 and 10, so frequently elaborated (lion's whelp, monarch's sceptre, Shiloh—Rest Giver), do not, despite their obvious richness, make up the full lore of this Messianic mineshaft. A sustained acknowledgement of the passage's Messianism yields, in particular, the following six additional realities:

1. The foal (Cayir),210 of v. 11, is the property of Shiloh. For Shiloh, as the Messiah is named

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209 Pirot and Clamer, 1:499: "il est en fait la première prophétie explicitement et strictement messianique, faisant allusion à un Messie personnel."

210 Of the six OT words used to translate ass/wild ass, the "beautiful, stately and lively animal" of the Orient, "hamdr, occurring ninety-seven times (Gen 12:16; 49:14) is usually translated 'ass,' United Bible Societies, comps., Fauna and Flora of the Bible, Helps for Translators Series, Vol. 11, (London, New York, Stuttgart: United Bible Societies, 1972), p. 5; Holladay, s.v. hamdr; Cafr (Cfr in Gen 49:11) is usually translated 'stallion of ass,' Holladay, s.v. Cayir, Cfr IV; 'ātēn (Gen 12:16), as 'she ass,' Holladay, s.v. 'ātēn, pere' (Gen 16:12; Job 6:5; Ps 104:11, etc.), as 'zebra,' or 'wild ass,' or 'oneger'; see United Bible Societies, comps., Fauna and Flora, p. 7; Holladay, s.v. pere'; 'ārād (Job 39:5), as 'wild donkey,' Fauna and Flora, p. 7; and 'ārād (Dan 5:21), also as 'wild donkey,' Fauna and Flora, p. 7.
in vs. 10,211 is the single reasonable antecedent and subject of the participle 'ōsrē, usually translated 'tying.' This foal (Cayir), is the charger of ruling families (Judg 10:3, 4; 12:13, 14), the mount of Zechariah's prophecy and of Christ's triumphal procession.212

211 So read most commentators; exceptions include the LXX, the Vulgate, Douay and JB, which use a noun clause, as for example JB: "until he come to whom it belongs, . . . ." but this alternative translation does not alter the relation of șīlōh to 'ōsrē.

212 The relevant passages from Genesis and Zechariah read as follows: "he ties his foal (Cērōh) to the vine, and his donkey's colt (bēni 'atōnē) to the choice vine" (Gen 49:11); "Behold your king is coming to you; . . . . Humble, and mounted on a donkey (ḥamōr), even on a colt (Cayir), the foal of a donkey (bēn-ʿatōnēt) (Zech 9:9). It is apparent that Zechariah's parallelism has carefully preserved the prophetic import of Jacob's utterance, i.e., that the Messiah will require, not just any donkey, not just any male donkey, but an Cayir, a young male donkey. This very specificity is conveyed in all the gospel reports of the triumphal entry. Matthew's difficult reading, "and brought the donkey and the colt, and laid on them their garments, on which He sat" (21:7), is clearly explained both by the wording of the OT predictions, and by the records of his contemporaries. Jesus did not sit upon or ride two animals at once, as the reading suggests. He did ride the colt (pōlos). So say Mark and Luke who mention only one animal (Mark 11:1-10, four times; Luke 19:28-40, four times). John does not detail the sending of disciples to unloose a pōlos; he simply says Jesus found a young ass (ōnaron), John 12:14; but even by this variation in vocabulary, the precision of prophecy and fulfilment are exposed. John simply employs another way of saying that the Master's mount was more than simply a donkey. It was a young, male donkey, as prophecy had foretold. To punctuate which truth he then points backward to Zechariah's promise that "your king is coming, sitting on an ass's colt!" (pōlos, John 12:15). Pōlos, the term so consistently used in the gospels, is the very one employed by the LXX to translate Cayir in Zech 9:9, and twice, in Gen 49:11, to translate both Cēr
2. By the same token, the garments of vs. 11 also belong to the Messianic persona.

3. Their blood-red dye implies the Messiah's treading of the winepress (Isa 63:1-3).

4. At the same time this blood-red dye serves to vividly depict the abundant blessing with which Messiah may be associated. This dual and varied application of blood of suffering and wine of blessing is not unfamiliar to the Messianic typology, as the following passages illustrate:

   Why is Your apparel red, . . . I also trod them in My anger, and trampled them in My wrath; and their lifeblood is sprinkled on my garments. . . . For the day of vengeance was in My heart, and My year of redemption has come. Isa 63:2-4.

   And when He had taken a cup and given thanks, He gave it to them, saying, "Drink from it, all of you; for this is My blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for forgiveness of sins. Matt 26:27, 28.

The clearer delineation of these varied applications is hindered only by the limitations of human conception and expression. Both the ancient prophets and the intended recipients of their messages are subject to this limitation (1 Pet 1:10-12). In this regard, a fifth observation may be adduced.

and ben-'ātōn. Why then does Matthew's account show the Christ ordering two animals? Only "to show that the literal agreement between his own command and the poetical form of the prophet's words would prove that no mere coincidence but God Himself was directing the steps of the Messiah." United Bible Societies, comps., Fauna and Flora, p. 7.
5. The linkage of royal charger and choice vine (vine of Sorek, Gen 49:11; cf. John 15:1, 5) may, upon further investigation, be seen to stand for a range encompassing the explicit 'tying' of ass to vine, and reaching to the metaphorical 'preparation' or actual 'ordering' of a charger for the Lord's celebrated Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem.213

6. Finally, the persona of excellence in Jacob's visionary exposition is supremely the Lord of glory Himself. The reference of vs. 12 (ḥaklīlī Cāynayim miyyāyin) is to the One fairest among ten thousand, and the Bright and Morning Star (Cant 5:10; Rev 22:16); the dual application of the symbol of wine as blood of suffering and wine of blessing speaks of His perfection through suffering (Heb 2:10; 5:8, 9) and triumph after passion over death and hell (Isa 63:1-6)—the chastening and scourging by which we are healed (Isa 53:5).

Prohibitions on Yayin

Prohibitions on yayin most often concern the Nazirite (Num 6:3, 4; Judg 13:4, 7, 14) and the priest (Lev 10:9; Eze 44:21), with Nazirites being forbidden to use kol-miṣrat canābīm (any extract of the grapevine, Num 6:3, 4). In the case of Jer 35, later discussed, 213 See Strong, OT 631; BDB, KBL, s.v. 'āsar; Gesenius, s.v. 'āzar.
the explanation for the abstention of the Rechabite community is that Jonadab, son of their patronymic ancestor, had commanded them saying "You shall not drink wine, you or your sons, forever" (Jer 35:6). Kings are also warned not to drink wine, "lest they drink and forget what is decreed" (Prov 31:4, 5).

Daniel in Babylon refuses in 1:5, 8, 16, to use the royal wine, but later suggests that he does make use of the beverage (10:3). His position also suggests grounds for prohibitions on yayin (this is taken up later in this study).

**Yayin as Intoxicating**

Obvious references to yayin as intoxicating include the drunkenness of Noah who "drank of the wine and became drunk" (Gen 9:21); and Solomon's warning, mentioned above.

At other times, as with Ahasuerus' seven-day banquet, the suggestion inheres in a striking resemblance to the drunken orgy of Belshazzar's last night (Esth 1:1-9; Dan 5:1-3), and the disruption occasioned by the request of a king whose heart was "merry with wine" (Esth 1:10).214

214 No reason for Vashti's exception (Esth 1:12) is given. Tradition (Meg 12b) claims that she was required to appear naked. Her refusal was on account, not of modesty, but of the divine curse of leprosy inflicted on her on this Sabbath day for her wickedness to the daughters of Israel.
Carey A. Moore, in the Anchor Bible commentary on Esther,\textsuperscript{215} represents \textit{ketôb lêb-hammelek bayyâin} as "when the king was feeling high from wine" Esth 1:10. This idiomatic expression involving a verbal rendering of \textit{tôb} applies to Nabal in 1 Sam 25:36, and to Amnon in 2 Sam 13:28. In these contexts as well, \textit{yayin} is intoxicating.

The idiom stands in consistent contrast with a usage of the verb \textit{sâmah}, where wine makes the heart glad. Contexts employing the latter verb convey an approving tone on \textit{yayin}: as food which God provides (Ps 104:15, \textit{sâmah} is here used in the piel); as contributory, with food and money, to living that is satisfying (Eccl 10:19, piel); as so great a blessing in its usage as to adequately illustrate the joy of national restoration (Zech 10:7). These applications reflect Moses’ emphasis in Deut 16:11, 14, where \textit{sâmah} is twice used to stress that Israel must 	extit{rejoice} before Yahweh during the feasts of Shavuot and Sukkot, as the nation acknowledged His blessings upon the works of their hands and the fields of their labor.

The contrast between a verbal use of \textit{tôb} seen as signifying intoxication, and \textit{sâmah}, seen as indicating divine blessing, suggests that in these instances

intoxication may stand over against divine blessing as ṭōb (verb) stands over against šāmah.

A Comparison of Prov 23:30, and 9:6

A concluding remark on this overview of interpretive possibilities associates the parallelism of Prov 23:30 with the invitation of Prov 9:1-6. It is evident that "mīmsâk (mixed wine) is synonymous with hayyayin in Prov 23:30. However, Wisdom, personified in the earlier chapter (9:1-6), invites to her board the naive and those lacking in understanding (vs. 4). Her offer:

Come, eat of my food,
And drink of the wine I have mixed (wūsetū beyayin māsākt).  
Forsake your folly and live,
And proceed in the way of understanding (vss. 5, 6).

A consistent construction of the import of these passages requires mixed wine, whether as mīmsâk (Prov 23:30), or as yayin māsākt (Prov 9:2, 5), to include in its range of meaning both an intoxicant which brings woe and sorrow, wounds without cause, and redness of eyes (Prov 23:29, 30), and, contrastingly, an instrument of Wisdom herself. The potion which Wisdom offers converts the simple from folly which leads to death to the way of understanding and life.

216 See Appendix A.
It is certain that the mixed wine of Prov 23:30 does not function to lead from folly and death to the way of understanding and life. It must also be evident that the wine mixed by Wisdom (Prov 9:2) is a different beverage, serving a salvific function.

The soundness of Teachout's arguments on this point is weakened only by his suggestion that mixing here "could simply refer to stirring grape juice in order that any nutritional dregs might not remain settled at the bottom of the container." For one thing, the verb masak obviously carries the idea of brewing, mixing in, rather than stirring up, which is better represented by כָּסַר (Ps 78:38; Deut 32:11).

In Ps 102:9, where the idea of mixing occurs, the drink is mingled with weeping (tears), and in Isa 19:14 "a spirit of distortion" is the potent addition. The act of Wisdom parallels this combining of ingredients—the mixing of the wine (Prov 9:2) with the combining of ingredients in the preparation of the meal. The invitation of vs. 5 emphasizes this: Come, eat of my food (the meal I have put together), and drink of the wine which I have mixed. The image cannot be very effectively made to relate to Teachout's suggestion.

217 Teachout, "Use of 'Wine,'" pp. 166-74, particularly 168-69.

218 Ibid., p. 169.
A further reason why it may not is that the presence of sediment assisted the process of spoilage. The lees were therefore filtered out, as far as possible, before either the fermented or unfermented beverage was stored;219 after settling in storage for months, wine was again decanted, to further improve the quality and longevity of the product.220 Wines containing significant amounts of dregs would not be of the first order; they would be hardly advertised as proof of a fine banquet at hand, and they would hardly be stirred up, when they were to be used; they might rather be filtered through a cloth.221 Mixing here more likely alludes to the addition of water to a dehydrated paste or syrup, or to a combining of flavors, practices which were known throughout the ANE.222

Teachout's insistence on the silence of Scripture with regard to "the preparation, storage and commerce of wine"223 seems not to allow him to treat

219 See Patton, p. 33; Pritchard, Gibeon, pp. 90-98;
220 Lutz, p. 67.
221 Ibid.
thoroughly of these matters. In addition, the suggestion on Prov 9:2, 5 is difficult from both the practical and the linguistic points of view.

In conclusion of this overview it may be stated that both the overall distribution of non-judgmental statements on yayin, and the record of individual human testimonies, present a challenge to those who hold that Scripture requires total abstinence from alcohol use.

On the other hand, one may list the specific prohibitions applied to priests and Nazirites; the rigid abstention practiced by the Rechabites; the distinction in Daniel's mind between the royal offering and his acceptable alternative (Dan 1:5, 8, 16; 10:3); the consistent usage of the verb ṭōb (be good), in the idiom "to feel high" from use of wine (Esth 1:10; 1 Sam 25:36; 2 Sam 13:28), in contrast with the verb sāmah (to rejoice, piei—to gladden), for contexts implying a positive attitude to yayin as an item of divine bestowal (Ps 104:15), or as a metaphor of such great spiritual

Supplement, Dec 1950, pp. 15, 16, on Mesopotamian practice; on the classical world, he presents (p. 56) John Pairman Brown's citation from an ancient Greek fragment, "take the red wine off the dregs;" Brown, p. 155. He mentions Pliny 23. 24. 45, as saying wine's potency was "overcome by the strainer" (p. 401). But he seems unaware of the significance of this process, or, at any rate, of its bearing on grape juice in ancient Israel.
equivalence as to herald Israel's prospect of full national restoration (Zech 10:7).

Seven Categories of Yayin Usage in OT Scripture

To dismiss these elements of evidence is to resist the invitation of the text to deeper investigation and more profound dialogue on the moral and theological significance of the usage of yayin in Scripture.

In furtherance of this dialogue the following sections of this paper consider yayin under seven categories of its appearance in Scripture. These categories seek to reflect the interpretive sensitivity developed in this section of the study. A final section, "Wine Stories," seeks to illustrate the application of the study's findings to a holistic interpretation of Scripture.

The seven categories are: (1) Yayin in daily life; (2) Yayin in festivity; (3) Yayin in worship and cultic ritual; (4) Yayin in prophetic utterance; (5) Yayin and special people; (6) Yayin in counsel and declaration; (7) Yayin in Metaphor.
Yayin in Daily Life

There are thirty-two references to yayin in the OT here classified as yayin in daily life. These include such ordinary circumstances as show how commonplace the beverage was in the dietary of OT times; also included here are those more famous narratives which help to establish the antiquity of intoxication.

The extension of this category ranges from Noah's day to the post-exilic era, and from Israelite plebeian through Babylonian high society and Persian royalty. This range illustrates the universal appeal of the beverage. It also speaks to the appropriateness

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224 Gen 9:21, 24; 19:32-35 (4 occurrences); Deut 29:6; Josh 9:4, 13; Judg 19:19; 1 Sam 10:3; 16:20; 25:18, 37; 2 Sam 16:1, 2; 1 Chr 27:27; 2 Chr 2:10, 15; Neh 2:1 (twice); 5:15, 18; 13:15; Eccl 2:3; 9:7; 10:19; Jer 40:10, 12; Dan 1:5, 8, 16; 10:3.

225 In Deut 29:6 Moses simply recalls the fact that through their wilderness wanderings the children of Israel had not drunk wine (or strong drink); again, the Gibeonites state with apparent condor, as part of their froward scheme, that their wineskins (nō'dōt hayyāyin) which they filled new were now, by the time their long journey to the Israelite camp could be completed, all torn (Josh 9:13).

226 Among which are the Noah narrative (Gen 9:21, 24) and the story of Lot's two daughters' incestuous scheme (19:32-35).

227 From Noah (Gen 9:21, 24) to Nehemiah (Neh 2:1; 5:15, 18; 13:15).

228 There was royal wine in the Babylonian court and in Artaxerxes' palace at Susa (Neh 2:1).
of the question of ben Sirach, asked during the intertestamental period: "What is life worth without wine?" (31:33). At the same time, it emphasizes the danger of generalizations which attempt to represent the entire region's historical attitude to wine without regard to national and class distinction.

A review of the various functions of yayin in ancient Hebrew life supplies the following information:

1. It could intoxicate. Noah (Gen 9:21, 24) drinks it and becomes drunk. Lot (Gen 19:32-35) drinks it and is made oblivious to how his daughters use his body. (See also 1 Sam 25:36, 37).

2. Israel did without it during their wilderness wandering (Deut 29:6).

3. It was an item of food to be taken on long journeys (Josh 9:4, 13; Judg 19:19).

4. It could be given as a gift (1 Sam 16:20, 25:18; 2 Sam 16:1, 2; 2 Chron 2:10, 15).

5. It was stored in vessels and cellars (1 Chron 27:27; Jer 40:10).

6. It was used by kings (2 Chron 2:10, 15—the king of Tyre; Neh 2:1—the king of Persia; Dan 1:5, 8—the king of Babylon.

7. It was taken as taxes (Neh 5:15).

8. It was included in the fare of Nehemiah's
table while he was governor (Neh 5:18 reports that the governor served all sorts of wine once every ten days).

9. It was being produced on Sabbath in Nehemiah's time, much to his displeasure (Neh 13:15).

10. Solomon used it to stimulate his body (Eccl 2:3).

11. It is considered compatible with, and even productive of, merriment and cheer (Eccl 9:7; 10:19).

12. It was available in abundance when, after the sacking of Jerusalem, Gedaliah was appointed governor over the land (Jer 40:10, 12).

13. It was refused on principle by Daniel (Dan 1:5, 8, 16).

14. Daniel, who refused wine which the king apportioned him, later reported abstaining from it during a fast (Dan 10:3).

229 Note that יָבָם in Eccl 9:7, "drink your wine with a cheerful heart," has little bearing on the contrasting verbal forms of יָבָם and שָׁם earlier discussed. This is but one of hundreds of instances of יָבָם as an adjective, variously rendered as 'beautiful' (2 Sam 11:2, of Bathsheba), 'cheerful' (Zech 8:19, of feasts for the house of Judah), 'fine' (2 Chr 3:5, of fine gold), etc., and, of course, 'good' (Gen 15:15, where Abram would be buried in a good old age), as well as 'choice' (Gen 27:9, where Jacob must choose two choice kids from the flock); also 'pleased' (Esth 5:9, where, with שָׁם, it describes the way Haman felt: "glad and pleased of heart"); in Prov 22:1, KJV, it is rendered 'loving,' in hên יָבָם, 'loving favor.' The idiom of Esth 1:10, 1 Sam 25:36, and 2 Sam 13:28, is consistent in its implications in the three contexts in which it occurs.
References to the availability of wine even during periods of national distress, such as immediately after the sacking of Jerusalem (Jer 40:10, 12), suggest that upon occasion the value of the beverage was acknowledged by invading armies. As reported by Jeremiah, Nebuzaradan, captain of the bodyguard, after the rout of the city in 586 B.C., chose to leave behind some of the poorest people who had nothing, "and gave them vineyards and fields at that time" (Jer 39:10).

In summary, the wide use and general appeal of yayin in the times of ancient Israel gives no indication, per se, of a moral affirmation or condemnation of the beverage. A study of this category alone is not to be expected to provide a definitive statement on the attitude of Scripture to the use of alcoholic beverages.

Yayin in Festivity

The sixteen instances of yayin in festivity involve but six OT books and ten separate incidents, as follows:

1. Moses' farewell address (Deut 14:26).
2. Hannah at Shiloh (1 Sam 1:14, 15, 24).

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This case, also an instance of yayin in worship, illustrates the importance of exploring, as much as possible, all aspects of each incident in order to arrive at the most accurate interpretation of the facts.
3. The man whom Saul would meet by the oak of Tabor (1 Sam 10:3, also listed under "Yayin in Worship and Ritual" because he and his companions were "going up to God at Bethel").


5. Amnon at Absalom's sheepshearing (2 Sam 13:28).

6. David's coronation (1 Chron 12:40).

7. Ahasuerus' banquet (Esth 1:7, 10).

8. Esther's first banquet (Esth 5:6).

9. Esther's second banquet (Esth 7:2, 7, 8).


Moses' statement that Israel did without wine and strong drink throughout their wilderness wanderings (Deut 29:6) advances this as the doing of Deity, that Israel might know His greatness. The other items of Moses' list which Israel did without suggest that the great leader was highlighting God's miraculous doing rather than condemning the use of any of the things Israel had survived without: Your clothes have not worn out . . . , and your sandal has not worn out. . . . You have not eaten bread, nor have you drunk wine nor strong drink, in order that you might know that I am the Lord your God. Deut 29:5, 6.

This understanding represents wine as ranking as
high as such staples as bread in the estimation of ancient Israel. 231

But there appears to be more to this statement of a great and departing leader than a declaration of divine power. Of the twenty-one OT occurrences linking ḥayin and ḥēḵār, seven occur where both are prohibited (Lev 10:9—prohibited to priests; Num 6:3 (twice)—prohibited to Nazirites; Judg 13:7, 14—prohibited to the wife of Manoah); Prov 31:4—forbidden to kings. Eight more, as well as Prov 31:4, already mentioned, occur in contexts implying intoxication (1 Sam 1:15—Hannah denies being drunk; Prov 20:1; 31:4, six speak of the beverages as deceiving and negatively affecting the functions of the mind; Isa 28:7, where ḥēḵār occurs thrice and ḥayin twice, speaks of reeling and staggering, being confused with wine and strong drink; see also 5:11; 29:9). Isa 5:22; 24:9; 56:12; and Mic 2:11 are all passages of condemnation, even if intoxication is not as clearly indicated in these. The other two passages occur in Deut 14:26, and 29:6.

The subject of the Nazirite is separately treated, as are the passages in Judg 13:4, 7, 14. However, it seems presumptuous to ignore the implication of nineteen out of twenty-one occurrences, that where

231 For references to "bread and wine" see Gen 14:18; Judg 19:19; Eccl 9:7; etc.
yayin and ṣēkār are linked, the context is either of prohibition, intoxication, or else, of a situation on which the prophet cries "Woe!"

Teachout has insisted that the linkage of yayin and ṣēkār in Deut 14:26 and 29:6 stands as a hendiadys signifying "satisfying grape juice."232 Such a position is compelled by his framework which requires scriptural allowance, tacit or explicit, of only exemplary behavior, which in Teachout's estimation excludes the drinking of alcohol. But apart from external impositions upon the text, it appears that yayin together with ṣēkār should be taken as indicating, not fresh grape juice, but one or more fermented beverages.

The conclusion that the beverages referred to in Deut 14:26 and 29:6 are more likely than not intoxicants may be clarified by further consideration of these passages. In both of them there is a sense in which the approval of God rests upon the action, though for some this presents a paradox. In Deut 14:26, Israel may eat in the presence of the Lord, Moses promises, whatever

232 Teachout, "Use of 'Wine,'" p. 246, finds only three occurrences out of twenty-three where ṣēkār may signify unfermented wine. The other is Num 28:7, a reference to drink offerings. Commenting on the command in Exod 29:40 to use wine (yayin) for the drink offering, Free points out (p. 351) that since the libation was not drunk, the question of its alcohol content does not affect the attitude of Scripture to alcohol drinking. The remark suggests that Free accepts that ancient Israel's libations may possibly have been alcoholic, a position with which Teachout would disagree.
they have purchased of whatever their heart desires, of "oxen, or sheep, or wine, or strong drink." In 29:6, Israel has abstained from wine and strong drink as they have from bread, that God's providence might be seen in their wilderness experience. God seems to grant, by Moses' word, a sanction for the use, in a time to come, of whatever the heart of the people might desire, even as He has, by the same word, sanctioned wine and strong drink as elements of the normal diet, withheld only to show in exceptional manner His provident power.

In Deut 14 Moses instructs Israel on the importance of a clean diet to a holy people. "The Lord," he says, "has chosen you to be a people for His own possession out of all the peoples who are on the face of the earth" (vs. 2). He goes on to list the animals, birds, and fishes which would be appropriate to their diet (vss. 3-21).

It would be impossible to freely reconcile the "whatsoever" of Deut 14:26 with the prohibitions of vss. 3-21, except by a position that the heart of Israel could be depended upon to desire only that which was acceptable to God. Such an exceptional conclusion is unnecessary. The implication of nineteen out of twenty-one occurrences of יֹסֵּךְ linked with יָיוָן certainly is against it.
The term šēkār is generally accepted as signifying an intoxicating drink, "intensely intoxicating liquor," according to Strong,233 a meaning which it certainly preserves in conjunction with yayin, and which suggests the appropriate understanding of yayin in such contexts.

If yayin wešēkār and equivalent expressions are to be taken as bearing a meaning consistent with their normal usage, then it becomes apparent that Moses here sanctions the use of yayin and šēkār. This conclusion presents a singular difficulty. For it represents

233 Strong, OT 7941; BDB, KBL, s.v. šēkār; Even-Shoshan, s.v. šēkār; Gesenius, s.v. šēkār; though it must be remembered that "wine and beer in ancient Palestine contained not over five or eight per cent alcohol because of the limitations of the natural sugar content in grape juice and the malt which was used" (Free, p. 352). This contrasts with today's proof liquors of 50 percent alcohol by volume. See Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language. 2nd ed. unabridged, s.v. "proof-spirit." Teachout, "Use of 'Wine'," p. 134, who agrees "that the verbal root škr is integrally related to drunkenness," further argues that "the exact type of intoxicant designated is determined primarily by the drinking habits of the respective peoples" (p. 134). He therefore proposes that while the cognate škr stands, in Mesopotamia and Egypt (Aramaic), for beer, in Palestine, it stands for a beverage of the grapevine (p. 135). The testimony of the Rabbis supports this, as B. Ber 27a shows that it is wine which is later called 'strong drink' (after forty days). Teachout also claims, p. 246, that Num 28:7 requires grape juice in order to be appropriate for the libation. Rabbinical affirmation and objection come to Teachout from the same quarter. For the Rabbis do show that it is grape juice which later becomes šēkār. But they do not treat šēkār as synonymous with fresh grape juice. For the Talmud requires Num 28:7 to be taken as strong drink, a beverage distinguishable from fresh wine (B. Ber 27a), in order to be appropriate for the libation.
Israel's leader as elaborating on the importance of avoiding that which is abomination, only to climax by saying 'you may consume whatever you want.' The obvious tension of the "whatever" of vs. 26 with the proscriptions of vs. 3-21 cries out for resolution. Its valid explanation may at the same time cast light on the appropriate attitude intended with regard to yayin and sekar, items here listed in the context of "whatever your heart desires."

While final conclusions may await the presentation of further evidence, the following positions may now be stated:

a) Whenever yayin and sekar are linked in OT Scripture they refer to intoxicating beverages.

b) There is Scriptural evidence that God's spokesman gave Israel permission to consume intoxicants.

The third incident listed in this category may be commented upon before the second is considered. Even in its context of "going up to God at Bethel," it does not explicitly indicate the state of the wine involved. Wine in the hand of the one going up to God may have been either fermented or unfermented, as the following arguments show. According to Num 18:8, 12, fresh wine was presented to God and became part of the priestly fare. Tithes, including produce "from the wine vat" (vs. 27), passed to Levite and thence to priest (vs. 28). Strong drink was also presentable before God. Num
28:1-8 shows that a quarter of a gallon of strong drink was poured out to Yahweh every morning and evening as the daily sacrifice was offered. Supplies for daily ritual were to some extent dependent upon the contributions of individuals and groups to the sanctuary economy. These donations may have come from Israelite and resident alien through stipulated offering (Num 15:1-21), or otherwise.

This being so, it cannot be categorically asserted that the wine of 1 Sam 10:3 was either fermented or unfermented. The same is true of the wine of David's coronation (1 Chron 12:40), and that of Job's children (Job 1:13, 18).

No such uncertainty is warranted over the wine of Nabal's feasting or Absalom's sheepshearing. 1 Sam 25:36 says quite plainly that Nabal was very drunk; 2 Sam 13:28 shows that Amnon was not to be attacked until he was feeling high from wine (the idiom is the same as that which describes Nabal's drunken condition). The wine of royal Persian banquets (Esth 1:7, 10; 5:6; 7:2, 7, 8) must also belong to this category (in Esth 1:10 the king, 'feeling high from wine', orders Vashti the queen to come and show her beauty).

The story of Hannah makes it clear that celebrants at religious festivals sometimes drank alcoholic beverages. The incident of 1 Sam 1
excellently portrays the linkage between wine and festivity in ancient Israel. Nabal and Absalom show that intoxicating wine was available to the rich. The varied listings of this category show that wine was integrally wrapped up in celebration: family get-togethers (the case of Job's children, Job 1:13, 18); national rejoicing (the coronation of a king, 1 Chron 12:40); sheepshearing (Nabal and Absalom, 1 Sam 25:37; 2 Sam 13:28). In the book of Esther the feast of wine recurs virtually as a function of royal existence. Wine is as present in the Persian palace (Esth 1:7, 8, 10; 5:6; 7:1, 2, 7, 8), as the name of God is absent from the book. The palace being Persian, it is evident that Israel was not alone in its love for and free use of wine.

The story of 1 Sam 1:9-18 is set in the place of worship at Shiloh, and here, too, as with Susa and Absalom and Nabal, the implication is of drunkenness.

To judge by the comments of Michael Deroche, Israel's compulsion to joy is impossible to satisfy without the yield of the vineyard and orchard, for for him the absence of fig and grape, as predicted by Jer 8:13, constitutes the absence of Yahweh Himself; and for the prophet to announce the end of vineyards is for him to announce the end, in fact, by absence of Yahweh, of
creation itself.\textsuperscript{234} The produce of the vineyard and the joy of Israel are very strongly linked.

Israel, then, goes to Shiloh, to celebrate. But instead of rejoicing with glad hearts (Ps 104:15), Israel celebrates by 'feeling high with wine.' Drunkenness is such a feature of the feast that the priest's first presumption, upon sight of a woman at prayer in the temple precincts, is not that she shares audience with the God of the temple and the nation, but that she is drunk. This is the statement of 1 Sam 1:14. Eli's concern for the cause of national holiness draws from him the cry of rebuke, "How long will you make yourself drunk? Put away your wine from you."

Hannah, it turns out is an exception to the priest's expectation. It is not necessary at this time to consider her vow and its spiritual implications. This will be done later. For the present, it is clear that as often as not, the wine of ancient Israel's celebration was an intoxicant. Seven of the ten cases considered under this head are quite surely instances where a fermented beverage is present, and the other

\textsuperscript{234} Michael Deroche, "Contra Creation, Covenant and Conquest (Jer 8:13)," VT 30 (1980):281. Deroche draws his understanding of fig and grape as symbolic of the presence of Yahweh chiefly from 1 Kgs 4:25, where their presence is seen to be the sublime statement of divine favor upon Israel.
three are uncertain. Israel's celebrations included drunkenness.

_Yayin_ in Worship and Cultic Ritual

OT Scripture includes twenty-one references which may be gathered under the heading of "Yayin in Worship and Cultic Ritual." Of these, the earliest reference is to Melchizedek's presentation to Abram when the latter returns from rescuing Lot, his nephew from Chedorlaomer's forces (Gen 14:18). The latest reference is to Ezekiel's second temple ideal, where priests, as in the Mosaic requirement of Lev 10:9, are forbidden to partake of wine as they enter the sanctuary (Eze 44:21).

The list is as follows:

1. As part of Melchizedek's offering (Gen 14:18).

2. As part of Jacob's birthright meal prepared for Isaac (Gen 27:25).

3. As part of offering or sacrifice (Exod 29:40; Lev 23:13; Num 15:5, 7, 10; 28:14).

4. As forbidden to the priests (Lev 10:9; Eze 44:21).

5. As forbidden during the period of a Nazirite vow (Num 6:3, 4, 20).

6. As tithes and offering due to priests and Levites (Num 18:27, 30).
7. As part of religious celebration (Deut 14:26; 1 Sam 1:14, 15, 24; 10:3).

8. As stored under the charge of Levites (1 Chron 9:29).

Within the community of ancient Israel, priests were among those most affected by specific stipulations on wine. They were forbidden to drink wine when they entered the tent of meeting (Lev 10:9), and that for three reasons:

1. "that you may not die"

2. "so as to make a distinction between the holy and profane, and between the unclean and the clean"

3. "so as to teach the sons of Israel all the statutes which the Lord has spoken to them through Moses." Lev 10:9-11.

The suggestion is that the use of yayin as here referred to would inhibit the ability of the priests to function in their duties. Both the implication of the context and the linkage of yayin and ἕκαρ appear to indicate that alcoholic beverages are here under consideration, and, in fact, in this context, under condemnation. But there appears to be more to this prohibition than an effort to ensure that priests' would maintain the proper spiritual attitude while working in the sanctuary.235

235 SDABC 1:749.
The passage more likely represents an intent to remind the priesthood of its responsibility to point the nation in the direction of true holiness; it is not simply by clear thinking in the holy place, but by refraining from alcohol that they are expected to make a distinction between sacred and profane. Commenting on Lev 10:10, Robert Jamieson says:

The grand and special function of the priests . . . . was to teach the doctrines of true religion to the people, both symbolically and orally. They were not, like the heathen priests, to possess an esoteric and exoteric doctrine, but whatever was made known to themselves of the nature and practical bearing of sacred things, they were, as official instructors in Israel, to communicate it for the benefit of the Church.236

A further implication on the relation of the priest to wine is found in the statements on his income. It is known that the tithe of the land constituted a major source of income for Levite, and thus for priest, since the latter received a tithe of the tithe presented to the former (Num 18:25-28). The language of Num 18:27, 30: "the grain from the threshing floor or the full produce from the wine vat;" "the product of the threshing floor, and . . . the product of the wine vat," suggests that the tithe immediately became the Lord's portion—as soon as it had been produced, in the case of crops, or as soon as it had been counted, in the case of flock and herd (Lev 27:32).

236 JFB, vol. 1, pt 1:454.
Anyone needing to personally utilize the "seed of the land or of the fruit of the tree," which had already been identified as the Lord's (Lev 27:30), was required to add one-fifth part to the portion he utilized, whenever he did pay tithe (vs. 31). This provision was not intended to encourage withholding of God's property, but to avoid undue hardship to farmers who might need part of one year's harvest as seed for the next year's crop.237

Tithe which could not be immediately paid in kind because of distance from the Temple, was to be changed into money (Deut 14:24, 25). The implication is that those who lived in the region of the sanctuary of temple could pay their tithe in kind, which would most likely be the fresh produce of the field, as suggested by the language of Num 18:27, 30. In such a case priests and Levites would be more likely to receive fresh wine than aged wine. This does not deny that the latter was also available to the religious of the society through the donations of the community.

The proscriptions on priests with regard to wine are repeated in Ezekiel's second temple ideal (Eze 44:21), and suggested in the Rabbinical traditions which concern the heave offerings. The heave offerings are of significance because they were eaten by the priests (Num

6:20 KJV). In the twelfth century A.D. Maimonides recorded a long-standing tradition which required that wine of the heave offering be "wine fresh from the press."\textsuperscript{238}

In summary, the implications of this category strongly contrast with the conclusion of the previous section that intoxication was very much a part of Israelite life. Drunkenness in Israel stands over against the statements of Lev 10:9-11 that priests about to minister should abstain from wine and strong drink (1) lest they die; (2) so as to make a difference between the holy and the profane; (3) to teach Israel God's requirement spoken to them through Moses. While wine does not necessarily involve intoxication, abstention from "wine and strong drink" clearly works against the possibility of intoxication, and the divine instruction appears directed toward this objective.

\textbf{Yayin in Prophetic Utterance}

This category does not deal with every listing of \textit{yayin} in the prophetic writings, but rather, with those whose context suggests a specific message of ethical significance.\textsuperscript{239}

\textsuperscript{238} Maimonides, Heave Offerings 5.25.

\textsuperscript{239} Narrative statements such as Jeremiah's, on life in the days following the sacking of Jerusalem, or Daniel's, on refusal and abstention are excluded (Jer 40:10, 12; Dan 1:5, 8, 16; 10:3).
The language of the Hebrew prophets provides fierce denunciations of alcohol use. Of the forty-four occurrences of yayin here identified as "Yayin in Prophetic Utterance," no more than twelve may be safely said to set forth the beverage in a good light, and of these at least four are open to question.

These four involve scenarios of desolation and gloom to befall the wicked for their wickedness. If interpreted as the loss of divine blessing, Isa 24:9, 11; Amos 5:11; and Zeph 1:13 may be taken as approving references to the character of yayin. But if seen as punishment meted out by blitzkrieg, they cannot necessarily be so interpreted. Desolation does not discriminate; the ravishing of the land of the wicked would simply be the destruction of whatever it held and its inhabitants enjoyed, whether it be grape juice or fermented wine.

While these passages may be open to some reasonable speculation, much of the prophetic statement is not. Isaiah laments, "Woe to those who rise early in the morning that they may pursue strong drink; who stay up late in the evening that wine may inflame them!" Isa

240 Isa 5:11, 12, 22; 16:10; 22:13; 24:9, 11; 28:1, 7 (twice); 29:9; 51:21; 55:1; 56:12; Jer 13:12 (twice); 23:9; 25:15; 35:2, 5 (twice); 6 (twice), 8, 14; 48:33; 51:7; Ezr 27:18; Hos 4:11; 7:5; Joel 1:5; 3:3; Amos 2:8, 12; 5:11; 6:6; 9:14; Mic 2:11; 6:15; Hab 2:5; Zeph 1:13; Hag 2:12; Zech 9:15; 10:7.
5:11. Elsewhere the prophet cries, "Woe to the proud crown of the drunkards of Ephraim, and to the fading flower of its glorious beauty, which is at the head of the fertile valley of those who are overcome with wine!"

28:1. Later in this complaint the prophet speaks of reeling with wine and being confused by it (vs. 7).

The prophet Amos appears to express the height of the divine dismay over those who oppose individuals who answer the call of God to become Nazirites:

Then I raised up some of your sons to be prophets and some of your young men to be Nazirites. . . . But you made the Nazirites to drink wine, and you commanded the prophets saying, "You shall not prophesy!" Amos 2:11, 12.

Amos here shows that both Nazirite and prophet receive their commission from God. The Nazirite vow may appear ascetic. It requires abstention from "anything that is produced by the grape vine, from the seeds even to the skin" (Num 6:4). But in Amos it is represented as a God-given honor, in the same way as is the gift of prophesy. It is also so represented in Num 6:1ff, the major OT passage on the Nazirite separation.

Forcing the Nazirite to break his vow of abstinence is, in the prophet's mind, akin to quenching the Spirit Who inspires the prophets. On this matter Christ's audience and NT recipients of inspired epistles were earnestly warned. In the words of Christ:

"blasphemy against the Spirit shall not be forgiven. . . . whoever shall speak against the Holy
Spirit, it shall not be forgiven him, either in this age, or in the age to come." Matt 12:31, 32.

The Ephesians were urged not to grieve the Holy Spirit of God (4:30), and the Thessalonians warned not to "quench the Spirit" or "despise prophetic utterances" (1 Thess 5:19, 20).

The prophet Micah is as indignant as is Amos. He ridicules the nation thus:

If a man walking after wind and falsehood
Had told lies and said,
'I will speak out to you concerning wine and liquor,'
He would be spokesman to this people." Mic 2:11.

Varied suggestions on the proper interpretation of this passage do not fail to point up the note of mockery in the prophetic voice. Thomas Edward McComiskey considers the message to be that Israel wishes a preacher who promises prosperity.241 If the promise be "plenty of wine and beer" (NIV), then it is evidently the promise of intoxication. The bearer of such a promise, says the prophet, "would be just the prophet for this people!" (NIV).

C. F. Keil recognizes that the prophet's words are spoken to men who "do not want to hear the truth, but simply what flatters their wicked heart. They would like to have only prophets who prophesy lies to them." Micah's words do not mean that there will be plenty of

wine, but that there will be plenty of "earthly pleasures and sensual enjoyments." This view does not appear to give sufficient attention to the fact that yayin and šēḵār together usually represent more than material pleasure.

Rolland E. Wolfe recommends that the passage be understood as preaching "for wine and strong drink;" he comments that the preacher, "a drunken scoundrel, without moral scruples," would preach for the payment of intoxicants and "would be taken in with open arms as the prophet of this people."244

Ralph L. Smith interprets Micah as saying that "his hearers are so confused and out of touch with Yahweh that if a peripatetic, charismatıc (man of the spirit) preacher were to come along preaching the gospel of wine and strong drink, they would hire him immediately."245

Yayin and šēḵār together more often than not indicate a drink or drinks which the context explicitly deprecates. Commentators usually recognize the idea of drunkenness in the passage in Micah. Further, there is only one possible occasion in OT Scripture where,


244 Ibid.

without some proscription or condemnation, yayin and ṣēḵār together may represent the blessing of God on the land of Canaan. Such an interpretation of that instance (Deut 14:26) so opposes the testimony of the whole of OT Scripture that this researcher finds it difficult to accept the claim that the linkage of yayin and ṣēḵār represents an abundance of material blessings without an attendant sense of intoxication.

The true messenger of Yahweh, Micah seems to imply, will not promise, in the name of Yahweh, a time of yayin and ṣēḵār: such a promise would be doubly a lie. For it is neither true that Yahweh now promises, nor is it true that Yahweh would ever promise intoxication; nor would his preacher work for the hire of intoxicants. The present context is obviously hostile to the idea of God approving the lies of the false prophet. Not merely is drunkenness itself being condemned, but, as Smith clearly recognizes, the notion that the God of heaven would send promises of wine and strong drink (alcohol) is a notion to be held up to open ridicule.

The view of the prophets Amos and Micah is that Israel's spiritual rebellion is constituted in more than individual choices for apostasy. To them it also

246 Ibid.
partakes of a trait to which Paul the apostle later confesses: "I tried to force them to blaspheme" (Acts 26:11), says Paul, of his mission to silence the followers of Jesus Christ. Amos and Micah express their regret at Israel's similar assault on the moral conviction of those who, in their day, took vows of abstinence.

Beyond this, or perhaps in order to accomplish this, Micah seems to say, the nation desired to have alcohol use sanctioned by the Spirit Who inspired the prophets.

The position of Amos and Micah does not appear consistent with that of Deut 14:26, but a further conclusion may now be added to those already presented. It is that Scripture provides evidence that the prophets abhorred what they perceived as the prevailing attitude to wine. This abhorrence covers both public opposition to the Nazirite vow, and the idea that God would approve of the use of intoxicants. The language of the nation's moralists also frequently represents the vengeance of God against the wickedness of Israel and its neighbors, as a removal of the bounty of the vine, along with the blessings of its horticultural companions (See Isa 16:10; Amos 5:11; Mic 6:15).

The degradation which intoxication produced (staggering, reeling, confusion, tables full of filthy
vomit, Isa 28:7, 8; exposure of nakedness, Hab 2:15) provides the ancient prophets with a powerful motif for representing the utter rout which the wrath of God would effect upon the self-sufficient wicked. For the prophets, as Babylon has intoxicated all the earth with the madness of her wine, so she too shall be intoxicated with the potion of God's wrath (Jer 51:7, 8; Hab 2:5, 15, 16); so, too, must many nations (Jer 25:15).

In a minority of cases, the prophets provide admirable images of yayin: It is a source of nourishment and spiritual refreshing (Isa 55:1). It also occurs in metaphor depicting the glorious prospect of national restoration (Amos 9:14; Zech 10:7) after years of devastation and exile. The notion of Deroche may be cited again with good reason. Without orchard and vineyard Israel may well have felt that Yahweh was not with them, but when these flourished, their cup of blessing overflowed.247

In summary, a study of the function of yayin in the language of the prophets supports the findings of a review of its usage in previous categories. There is evidence for widespread use, including evidence for much drunkenness. There is also evidence for proscription of use. The language of the prophets represents yayin both as a thing of blessedness, representative of the divine

247 Deroche, p. 281.
presence and favor, and a thing to be condemned in the strongest possible language.

**Yayin and Special People**

This category reviews the cases of such diverse characters as priests, kings, the Rechabites, Daniel in Babylon, and unknown individuals through Israel's history who took the Nazirite vow. They are called 'special' in this study, being particularly identified in Scripture as people whose lives were significantly related to use of or abstention from wine. They illustrate varied individual and group attitudes to yayin in OT Israel. The focus of this category suggests that it may include much information relevant to an understanding of the OT ideal for Israel's rank and file with regard to the drinking of alcohol. The cases reviewed include:

1. Priests who are about to officiate (Lev 10:9; Eze 44:21).
3. The wife of Manoah, and Samson her son (Judg 13:4, 7, 14).
4. Nehemiah the cupbearer and later governor (Neh 2:1, etc.).
5. The Rechabites (Jer 35:2, 5, 6, 8, 14).
6. Daniel in Babylon (Dan 1:5, 8, 16; 10:3).
The case of priests has previously been discussed. As for Nazirites and Rechabites, it is evident that these lived under vows of temporary or permanent abstention from all association with the grapevine or its products. For Nazirites, as noted in the previous section, the vow was given by God:

The Lord spoke to Moses, saying, "Speak to the sons of Israel, and say to them, 'When a man or woman makes a special vow, the vow of a Nazirite, to dedicate himself to the Lord, he shall abstain from wine and strong drink; he shall drink no vinegar, whether made from wine or strong drink, neither shall he drink any grape juice, nor eat fresh or dried grapes. All the days of his separation he shall not eat anything that is produced by the grape vine, from the seeds even to the skin." Num 6:1-4.

Reinforcing the statements of Num 6:2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, etc., that the Nazirite vow was a spiritual undertaking, a dedication to the Lord, is the statement of Amos 2:11, already cited, that God raised up young men to be Nazirites. The possible spiritual significance of this vow is discussed in a later section of this thesis.

For the Rechabites, abstentions similar to those of the Nazirite were a matter of lifetime observance:

"We will not drink wine, for Jonadab the son of Rechab, our father, commanded us, saying, 'You shall not drink wine, you or your sons, forever. And you shall not build a house, and you shall not sow seed, and you shall not plant a vineyard or own one; but

248 The relation of kings to wine is taken up under the heading "Yayin in Counsel and Declaration."
in tents you shall dwell all your days, that you may live many days in the land where you sojourn." And we have obeyed the voice of Jonadab the son of Rechab, our father, in all that he commanded us, not to drink wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, or our daughters, nor to build ourselves houses to dwell in; and we do not have vineyard or field or seed." Jer 35:6-9.

The Rechabite convictions extended beyond abstention from association with vineyards to a general resistance to urban living: the group would not even dwell in permanent houses, but lived in tents until Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of Judah drove them to seek shelter in the city of Jerusalem (vs. 11). Their singular austerity, enjoined upon the entire community by an ancestor called Jonadab son of Rechab (vss. 6, 8), was a lifetime commitment rather than a periodic undertaking such as the traditional Nazirite vow involved.

It has already been pointed out that the priestly requirement of Lev 10:9-11 was for the purpose of upholding God's ideal for Israel as given to Moses.

The Mosaic record includes no statement of Yahweh to Moses to the specific effect that Israel should not drink grape juice or alcohol. What God does say in Lev 10:10, 11 is that by the stipulated avoidance of alcohol, Aaron and his sons will make "a distinction between the holy and the profane, and between the unclean and the clean." By this means, they will also
teach "the sons of Israel all the statutes which the Lord has spoken to them through Moses."

It is clear from Scripture that Yahweh's call for holy living extends to the entire nation:

Now then, if you will indeed obey My voice and keep My covenant, then you shall be My own possession among all the peoples, for all the earth is Mine; and you shall be to Me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation. Exod 19:5, 6.

From the words of Lev 10:10, 11, it must be equally clear that a consistent representation of this holiness involves a particular attitude towards alcohol. If the priest may preserve sanctuary sacredness by avoidance of alcohol then alcohol is represented as profane and unholy.249

There is little evidence that the nation as a whole heeds the call to national holiness. There is evidence instead, that it is sometimes disregarded even by the priests:

And these also reel with wine and stagger from strong drink:
The priest and the prophet reel with strong drink,
They are confused by wine, they stagger from strong drink;
They reel while having visions,
They totter when rendering judgment. Isa 28:7.

Furthermore, all the officials of the priests and the people were very unfaithful following all the abominations of the nations; and they defiled

249 Alcohol is apparently be to viewed in the same light as other items Israel is forbidden to eat. As various animals, sea creatures, and birds are unclean and unfit for food (Lev 11; Deut 14), so alcohol is also unclean (Lev 10:9-11).
the house of the Lord which He had sanctified in Jerusalem. 2 Chron 36:14.

It is apparent, though, that while many, including priests, are unfaithful to the call to holiness with its attendant abstention from alcohol, there are those who adhere to the divine standard. These include those who, in answer to the impressions of the Spirit, take upon themselves Nazirite vows (Amos 2:11; Num 6:3-21), those who are ordained before birth to such vows (Judg 13:4, 7, 14), and the Rechabite group (Jer 35).

The standard of abstemiousness to which all these conform is given as being divine, not capriciously human. God calls Nazirites (Amos 2:11), and He Himself lays down the procedure by which a Nazirite may "dedicate himself to the Lord" (Num 6:2; also vss. 5, 6, 12, etc.). The Nazirite's extreme dissociation from the grape vine, from use of seeds, skin, fresh or dried grapes, and from any kind of grape beverage (Num 6:3, 4) is a striking feature of the Rechabite behavior introduced in Jer 35.

Despite this obvious connection, the Rechabite abstention from wine has been called "arbitrary," and the group has been dismissed as a clan whose primitive life-style shows them to have been left behind when

Israel moved on to an agricultural stage of living. The Yahweh of their worship is said to be the Yahweh of the desert. B. K. Waltke writes, upon the question of Jeremiah's test of the Rechabites, "the tertium comparationis lies in their relation to a command not in the contents of the command."253

W. H. Bennett finds their prohibition of wine "merely a means for preserving the nomadic life."254 But in the context of similar practice in the wider Israelite community, such a position becomes very difficult to maintain. It involves a negation of the position that the equivalent behavior, with Nazirites, is according to a divinely given standard. This difficulty is similar to that faced by those in ancient Israel who "made the Nazirites drink wine" (Amos 2:11), and those who wished for a standard other than could be obtained from the messages of God's prophets (Mic 2:11).

The contrast between the national compromise and the Nazirite and Rechabite self-denial suggests a further statement to be added to the summary positions.

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252 Ibid.


already given. It is that though alcohol use and even drunkenness may have been prevalent they were not universal. Priestly, Nazirite, or Rechabite morality, to the extent that it conformed to divine stipulation, represented before all Israel a commitment to ideals significantly different from those to which the nation generally chose to conform.

Among the means which Scripture employs to illustrate this different ideal is the incident of Judg 13. In this story an unnamed woman of Dan is called to the practice of the Nazirite vow, in order to prepare her son Samson, from the womb, for the major role of national deliverer, to which he is ordained before birth. (Judg 13:2-14).

In this incident the requirements of the Nazirite vow are extended in two ways: to the mother of an unborn child; and to that child throughout his life:

The angel of the Lord appeared to the woman, and said to her, "Behold now, you are barren and have borne no children, but you shall conceive and give birth to a son. Now therefore, be careful not to drink wine or strong drink, nor to eat any unclean thing. For behold, you shall conceive and give birth to a son, and no razor shall come upon his head, for the boy shall be a Nazirite to God from the womb; and he shall begin to deliver Israel from the hands of the Philistines." Judg 13:3-5.

This double extension of the Nazirite requirement (to the unconceived Samson as well as to his mother) itself underlines the spiritual significance of the vow in at least four ways: Firstly, it comes as a
message from "the angel of the Lord" (vs. 3); next, it comes as a prediction of future events ("you shall conceive," "he shall begin to deliver Israel" vss. 3, 5); thirdly, it requires a miracle for its realization ("You are barren and have borne no children, but you shall conceive" vs. 3); finally, the child prophesied has a God-ordained lifework ("he shall begin to deliver Israel from the hands of the Philistines" vs. 5).

In summary, this section supplies similar evidence to that derived from the language of the prophets. Evidently, the requirement of Lev 10:9 was not as singular as might at first be thought. The priestly abstention, divinely elaborated, is intensified in the case of the Nazirite—an individual dedicated to God, and significantly extended in the case of Samson, destined deliverer, and of his mother, even before she conceives. It must be remembered that in each of these cases the stipulations are set forth as divine. The Rechabite austerity may be different because traced to the word of Jonadab, an ancestor, but as a lifetime commitment, and as a parental legacy, it is obviously comparable to that form of the Nazirite vow which was required by God of Samson.

Yayin in Metaphor

Distinctly poetic usage of yayin in OT Scripture is here distinguished from instances where the term
appears in expressions of admonition concerning the
virtue of its use or non-use. There are eleven such
instances of yayin which present a positive light, six
in a context explicitly negative, and one which is
unclear. The eighteen passages are largely confined to
the Hebrew Writings:

1. Moses' farewell song (Deut 32:33, 38).
2. Elihu's impatience (Job 32:19).
3. The Psalmist's lament (Ps 60:3).
4. God's vengeance (Ps 75:8).
5. God, The Warrior (Ps 78:65).
7. The wine of violence (Prov 4:17).
8. Wisdom's wine (Prov 9:2, 1).
9. Solomon's imagery (Cant 1:2, 4; 2:4; 4:10;
  5:1; 7:9; 8:2).
10. The children's hunger (Lam 2:12).

Seven of the positive usages occur in Solomon's
Song, where the poet's imagery includes a wide variety
of Palestinian flora, including apple trees,
pomegranates, the lily of the valley, and the rose of
Sharon.255 Outstanding among the images drawn upon in

255 Gleason L. Archer, Jr. A Survey of Old
Testament Introduction, rev. ed. (Chicago: Moody Press,
1964), 1974), p. 490. No less than fifteen species of
fauna (roes, hinds, harts, doves, foxes, etc.) also
appear, attesting Solomon's encyclopedic knowledge in
this area (1 Kgs 4:33); pp. 490-91.
this poem are the vine and vineyard, mentioned more than a dozen times between them (Cant 1:6, 14; 2:12-15; 6:11; 7:8, 12; 8:11, 12). The author's enthusiasm for viticultural allusion is further shown when oblique reference to the subject (pruning, 2:12) is added, with the seven comments on yayin, to the thirteen listed above. This makes a total of twenty-one viticultural allusions in one of the shorter books of the Bible.

The imagery is uniformly laudatory. The lovers repeatedly complement love's superiority by declaring it better than yayin (1:2; 4:10). The delights of yayin are further extolled when the marriage bed is called a banquet hall (bêt hayyānin, literally "house of wine"—2:4), whose overarching banner is love.

Solomon's song also contains the singular occurrence of the term reqah, in the expression yayin hāreqah (spiced wine). The promise of the bride is to give her spouse "spiced wine to drink from the juice of my pomegranates" (miyyānin hāreqah maqasîs rimmōnî, Cant 8:2). The passage is significant for the evidence that yayin is not necessarily limited to grape juice,256 but may name the beverage produced by other fruits as well.

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256 Teachout, "Use of 'Wine'," pp. 269, 312, sees yayin as meaning only grape juice, fermented or unfermented.
In Cant 2:4, the marriage bed is described as bet hayyayin (the house of wine/banqueting hall) whose overarching banner is love. The comment reflects not only on the thrill of yayin but, if the analogy may be more fully treated, upon the virtue of yayin. For love is here represented as the reigning principle, the monarch whose goodness supplies the sweets of sexual delight to those who would revel under his sceptre. Since this is biblical love, the wine of the analogy may be expected to be 'biblical' wine—wine such as biblical principle approves. In attempting to determine what type of wine may here be referred to, it should be recalled that the biblical evidence is both for strong denunciations of the use of alcohol, and for permission to use intoxicants.

The fact that marital privilege and not illicit pleasure is here in view (Cant 4:8, 9, 10, 11, etc., show that the lovers are bride and groom), compels a comparison with the language of Prov 9:17 which comments upon the sweetness of extramarital sex. The contrast is, in fact, somewhat similar to that between Prov 9:2, 5, and Prov 23:30. In Prov 9:2, 5, Wisdom personified offers a banquet (food and wine) of virtue for the delight and profit of those who lack understanding. By contrast, Prov 23:30 offers woe, sorrow, contentions, and complaining (see vs. 29). In both instances wine is
mixed.\textsuperscript{257} It is this type of contrast, rather than the imposition of an artificial framework which provides a biblical basis for different interpretations of yayin in this study.

In the case of the marriage bed of Canticles, (\textit{bēt hayyāyin}, "banqueting house," KJV Cant 2:4), the lovers' 'house of wine' may be set over against the "stolen water" of fornication (Prov 9:17). The significance of this contrast between the 'house of wine'—where marital delight is contemplated—and the 'stolen water'—referring to illicit sex—surely invites reflection. A comparison of these passages is consistent with the way the book of Proverbs treats the subjects of licit and illicit sex. The book implies that sexual purity is compatible with true wisdom by setting true wisdom over against the way of the harlot and adulteress. Prov 2:1-11 extols the way of true wisdom; vss. 12-19 show that this way delivers from the snares of the adulteress. Prov 9:1-12a again exalts the virtue of true wisdom; vss. 12b-18 set forth the way of the harlot. The marriage bed of Cant 2:4 (\textit{bēt hayyāyin}) would evidently stand with the virtue of true wisdom in the following manner:

\textsuperscript{257} An incidental implication here is that mixed wine (mezeg--Cant 7:3) per se need not be understood as an intoxicant. The contrast between chaps. 9 and 23 shows that different mixtures may produce quite opposite effects.
True Wisdom: Prov 2:1-11, delivers from the adulteress (vss. 12-19).

True Wisdom: 9:1-12a offers the wine of understanding and deliverance from folly: the harlot is called the woman of folly; she offers "stolen water" (vss. 12b-18).

The marriage bed of Cant 2:4 is called the 'house of wine.'

Conclusion a: the 'wine' of Cant 2:4 relates to the wine of understanding and deliverance from folly;

Conclusion b: the "stolen water" of Prov 9:17 relates to the pleasures of illicit sex.

When it is further recalled that the offering of True Wisdom contrasts with the potion of Prov 23:29-35, obviously an intoxicant, the impression is strengthened that the wine of the 'house of wine' may safely be taken to be the unadulterated juice of the grape.

This identification of the poetic imagery of the Song of Solomon with the instruction of the book of Proverbs illustrates the spiritual value of Solomon's Song, a poem whose canonicity has often been called into question. "Virtually all OT theologies have had difficulties in dealing with the wisdom writings (Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Canticles), but one may fairly agree, as C. Hassell Bullock has said, "that a book that celebrates virtuous love between man and

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woman deserves a place in the canon of Holy Scripture."

If, as is here represented, the Song celebrates love that is according to the biblical ideal, then the spiced wine of Prov 8:2 (as with the mixed wine of Prov 9:2, 5) would represent, not the "whatever" of Deut 14:26, but an unfermented potion. Such a conclusion rests upon the earlier recognition that OT Scripture represents intoxicants as unholy and alien to the heavenly ideal. Thus the character of a given yayin beverage is determined, not by its name, but by an investigation of the process of its composition, or the context of the usage of the name.

**Negative Portrayals of "Yayin in Metaphor"**

Among the most graphic negative portrayals of yayin in this section is that of Deut 32:33 where the wine of Israel's enemies is said to be "the venom of serpents, and the deadly poison of cobras." The passage easily relates to the warning of Prov 23:31, 32:

> Do not look on the wine when it is red,
> When it sparkles in the cup,
> When it goes down smoothly;
> At the last it bites like a serpent,
> And stings like a viper.

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In Deut 32:32 the hostility of Israel's enemies is also associated with the notorious cities of Sodom and Gomorrah. The juxtaposition of the combined images of notorious cities and serpents' venom, over against the indestructibility of our Rock (Deut 32:30, 31), depicts the cosmic confrontation between good and evil. This language is later borrowed by several OT and NT writers (Isa 26:4; 1 Cor 10:4; Rev 12:9).

Among other negative implications for yayin derived from a study of its metaphorical usage, are the following:

a) **Toxicity**—"For their vine is from the vine of Sodom, And from the fields of Gomorrah; Their grapes are grapes of poison, Their clusters, bitter. Their wine is the venom of serpents, And the deadly poison of cobras. Deut 32:32, 33.

b) **Impatience**—For I am full of words; The spirit within me constrains me. Behold, my belly is like unvented wine, Like new wineskins it is about to burst. Job 32:19.

c) **Hardship**—Thou hast made Thy people experience hardship; Thou hast given us wine to drink that makes us stagger. Ps 60:3.

d) **Violence**—For they eat the bread of wickedness, And drink the wine of violence. Pro 4:17.

Ps 78:65 speaks of the Lord awaking from sleep "like a warrior overcome by wine." The picture may be that of a man emboldened by alcohol. Alternatively, it may be
that the appropriate translation is the marginal reading "sobered up from wine."

In summary, metaphorical usage of yayin, consistent with its literal usage, reveals both a positive and a negative aspect to the term. But while other categories have revealed more antipathy than enthusiasm toward yayin, the same is not true of this category. The major portion of figurative usage, particularly because of its frequent occurrence in the Song of Solomon, provides more commendation than condemnation of the term under study. This category also shows that yayin need not be limited to grape juice, but may extend to naming other fruit beverages as well. One implication of this fact for the present study is that its relevance may extend beyond the question of the OT attitude to the use of fermented/unfermented grape juice.

The more positive image of yayin here observed may well constitute an indication of the divine favor toward the fruit and beverage given of heaven for gladdening the human heart (Ps 104:15).

**Yayin** in Counsel and Declaration

This category surveys those OT statements on yayin which appear in dogmatic settings. Three of these
imperatives are apparently supportive of, while ten others are apparently opposed to the use of yayin.260

Condemnatory Use

"Wine is a mocker," declares the wise man (Prov 20:1); 'woe to those who linger over it,' (23:29); 'kings are not to drink it;' (31:4); "Woe to those who . . . stay up late in the evening that wine may inflame them!" (Isa 5:11); "Woe to those who are heroes in drinking wine" (vs. 22); "wine betrays the haughty man" (Hab 2:5).

Hosea's insight is regrettable but true: "Harlotry, wine, and new wine take away the understanding" (Hos 4:11). The obvious question here must concern the prophet's reason for associating harlotry and wine (zenût weyayin) with new wine/the grape harvest (târûṣ), as taking away the heart. The three terms seem to span the gamut of potential moral conduct as portrayed in Scripture: from the very bad--harlotry--through the relative--yayin--to the altogether good--târûṣ. For têrûṣ means nothing but the fresh harvest of the vine, on which only positive construction is usually put (Gen 27:28; Num 18:12; 2 Chron 31:5).

260 Prov 20:1; 21:17; 23:30, 31; 31:4, 6; Ecc 9:7; 10:19; Isa 5:11, 12, 22; Hos 4:11; Hab 2:5.
This very truth may be the explanation for the prophet's statement. The nation of Israel is surrounded by the bewildering ritual of the Canaanite community who attribute their prosperity and give their worship and praise to Baal (1 Kgs 16:30-32; 18:21-28; Hos 2:8). Israel itself becomes caught up in the very idolatry, and the word to it from the Lord is:

Therefore, behold, I will hedge up her way with thorns,
And I will build a wall against her so that she cannot find her paths.
And she will pursue her lovers, but she will not overtake them;
And she will seek them, but will not find them.
Then she will say, "I will go back to my first husband,
For it was better for me then than now!"
For she does not know that it was I who gave her the grain, the new wine [grape harvest (tirhāq)]], and the oil.
And lavished on her silver and gold,
Which they used for Baal.
Therefore, I will take back My grain at harvest time
And My new wine [grape harvest (tirhāq)] in its season . . .
And I will destroy her vines and fig trees,
Of which she said, "these are my wages
Which my lovers have given me" . . .
And I will punish her for the days of the Baals
When she used to offer sacrifices to them. 2:6-13.

In a land where "there is no faithfulness or kindness or knowledge of God" (4:1), the inhabitants may be said to offend in every conceivable way, a situation reminiscent of the antediluvian world where "every intent of the thoughts of his [man's] heart was only evil continually" (Gen 6:5). Whether it be by overindulgence or other abuse of the good (tirhāq), or by
flagrant practice of the blatantly bad, Israel is evidently in rebellion against God. Hence "the Lord has a case (a controversy, KJV) against the inhabitants of the land" (4:1) who acknowledge neither the gifts of His providence—as in harvest of vineyard—nor the purposes of His revealed will—as in moral living.

"Positive" Statements

The three statements in this category all appear under Solomon's pen:

1. Give . . . wine to him whose life is bitter. Let him drink and forget his poverty, And remember his trouble no more. Prov 31:6,7.

2. Go then, eat your bread in happiness, and drink your wine with a cheerful heart; for God has already approved your works. Eccl 9:7.

3. Men prepare a meal for enjoyment, and wine makes life merry, and money is the answer to everything. Eccl 10:19.

It is the context of the preceding verses which sets the stage for the obvious sarcasm of Prov 31:6, 7. In vss. 4, 5, king Lemuel is warned that wine and strong drink do not agree with sound judgment:

It is not for kings, O Lemuel, It is not for kings to drink wine, Or for rulers to desire strong drink, Lest they drink and forget what is decreed, And pervert the rights of all the afflicted.

It is the faculties of the mind rather than the royal estate which are here under study. Individuals for whom decision making is a critical matter must not drink wine and strong drink. But men may choose not to
make sound judgments on the challenges of life; if this is their choice they may drink wine and strong drink. They may then forget the bitterness of life while under the influence of an intoxicant.

Eccl 10:19 employs a similar approach. The functional value of the items listed here is not in dispute: "lishôq cōšîm lehem/men prepare food for enjoyment; weyayin yēsammah hayyîm/and wine (non-intoxicating, cf. Ps 104:15; Zech 10:7) really makes life happy; wehakkesev yācaneh 'et-haccôl/and money answers everything." A study of the book of Ecclesiastes reveals that its author does not intend his reader to accept that money is the answer for everything. As in the tragedy of Hos 4:11, where even tîrōš yiqqah lēb, so, notes the Preacher of the book, men may believe that money answers everything. But in the comments of 9:7 and 10:19, he questions the limited view that one may 'eat, drink, and be merry,' then die tomorrow. Finally, after describing the pilgrimage of a lifetime in search of the holy grail of life's true satisfaction (1:1-3, 13, 17; 2:1-12, etc.), his definitive submission is set forth in 12:13, 14:

The conclusion, when all has been heard, is: fear God and keep His commandments, because this applies to every person. For God will bring every act to judgment, everything which is hidden, whether it is good or evil.
The writer's comment on yayin (L0:19) must be read against this background and against the background of the implications of šamāh, as used here and elsewhere to signify gladness of heart, in contrast with a verbal use of tōb, which indicates drunkenness.

It is apparent that there are many strong biblical imperatives against the use of yayin when intoxication may be involved in such use. Except for the concession of Deut 14:26, earlier considered ("Yayin in Daily Life"), there are no truly positive imperatives on the use of intoxicating yayin. Apparently positive commands are reasonably construed as ironical and even sarcastic commentary on the alleged benefits of alcohol use.

Understood against the background already laid out, the OT categorically condemns the drinking of alcoholic wine. 'It makes a fool of you,' says the wise man in Prov 20:1. It is not overuse which is here said to make a fool of one. The thing itself is here called a mocker. Those deceived by it are not wise, says the KJV. "Whoever is intoxicated by it is not wise," translates the NASB. While Prov 23:29, 30 state that "those who linger long over wine" have problems, this line of the proverb is in climactic parallelism with the words "those who go to taste mixed wine" (emphasis supplied). Succeeding verses command and caution:
Do not look on the wine when it is red,
When it sparkles in the cup,
When it goes down smoothly;
At the last it bites like a serpent,
And stings like a viper. vss. 31, 32

Deriving a sanction for any kind of alcohol drinking is particularly difficult in the context of the statements of this category.

Summary of the Implications of OT Investigation

Analysis of the seven foregoing categories has documented a number of basic realities with regard to the OT attitude to yayin in ancient Israel. They include the following:

1. Yayin was widely used in ancient Israel
2. Whenever yayin and sekar are linked in OT Scripture they refer to intoxicating beverages.
3. There is Scriptural evidence that God gave Israel permission to consume intoxicants.
4. The use of yayin was sometimes proscribed
5. The use of yayin often led to drunkenness
6. Use of yayin often brought gladness of heart, a condition contrasting with drunkenness
7. Scripture provides evidence that the prophets abhorred what they perceived as the prevailing attitude to yayin. This abhorrence covers both public opposition to the Nazirite vow, and the idea that God would approve of the use of intoxicants.
8. God's ideal for Israel was related to their attitude to *yayin*

9. In order to represent God's ideal priests were forbidden to drink *yayin* or strong drink when they entered the sanctuary

10. Many persons besides priests were forbidden to drink *yayin*; some of these such as Rechabites exhibited behavior similar to that required of God, but credited their conduct to ancestral requirement

11. Though alcohol use and even drunkenness may have been prevalent they were not universal

12. *Yayin* may refer to the juice of other than grapes

13. *Yayin* may be used to represent toxicity, impatience, violence, etc.

14. *Yayin* may be used to represent refreshment, the glory of national restoration, etc.

15. *Yayin* may be used to represent the blood of the Messiah

16. *Yayin* may be used to represent the blood of Messiah's enemies

A further assertion is compelled on the basis of the sixteen statements given above: *Yayin in the OT certainly seems to refer to beverages of contrasting properties, producing contrasting effects upon the user,*
and is generally treated with contrasting attitudes of approval and condemnation by OT writers.

Wine Stories

The five human interest narratives which follow are intended to illustrate the biblical position as understood in this work. It is believed that the thesis of these narratives has been demonstrated by the foregoing research: (1) that a consistent investigation of the OT data reveals that both unfermented and fermented wine were available to ancient Israel; (2) that an ideal of teetotalism in a context of self-denial was constantly being held up to the nation. Stories cover the following subjects:

1. Noah, the husbandman (Gen 9:20-24).
2. Hannah, woman of sorrow (1 Sam 1:1-28).
4. The Rechabites, exemplars of obedience (Jer 35).
5. Daniel, a principled stand (Dan 1; 10:1-3).

Noah, the Husbandman

In the story of the pre-flood world, Cain, rebel and agriculturist (Gen 4:2-16), is very much the ancestor of creativity. He builds the first city (4:17); his descendant Jubal, son of the bigamous
murderer Lamech, invents the lyre and pipe (vs. 21); Tubal-cain, Jubal's halfbrother, first forges implements of bronze and iron (vs. 22). It would be no great leap of imagination to credit the Cainites with the inventing of alcoholic beverages also.

Noah, blameless in his time (Gen 6:9), learns, by observation, of the dangers inherent in imbibition of this beverage, the shame it yields, the violence it breeds (vs. 11, 13).

He survives the deluge with his family only by the special kindness of God and emerges on this side of the cataclysm to become a husbandman. Even if he has lost to the flood the best technology for preserving unfermented grape juice, it must take a lot of alcohol to make a man of his stature drunk. In Noah's generation, the hereditary and environmental degradations which today predispose men to one sickness or another do not yet operate. Noah simply drinks himself drunk, more likely for joy at his harvest than for sorrow at his troubles. He conforms to practice more in keeping with the world destroyed, than with the new world God designs to order through him and his descendants (Gen 9:8-11).

His beginning to be a farmer (vs. 20) provides simple and direct identification with the original farmer (Gen 2:15), as with the post-Eden experience
(3:17-19). His action holds no inherent wrong. Nor does his intent to produce wine. His drunkenness issues from his use of the harvest. тирош takes away his heart as he exults more in what he has harvested than in what God has given, and he converts that тирош to yavín that makes him drunk and naked.

The sin of Ham is the original biblical statement on the train of woe which follows the shame of drunkenness. Like the drunkenness of Noah, Ham's disrespect reports no new post-flood development. It more possibly describes the reaction of Noah's son to the sight of his father in a condition he had come to associate with the world's population so recently annihilated. His surprise is mingled with amusement rather than dismay, testimony to the direction of his sense of humor; the behavior of his brothers establishes their own sense of decency, and their desire to minimize the shame their father has brought upon himself.

Habakkuk's exclamation (2:15, 16) underlines the divine horror both of Noah's action and of Ham's response:

Woe to you who make your neighbors drink,  
Who mix in your venom even to make them drunk  
So as to look on their nakedness!  
You will be filled with disgrace rather than honor.  
Now you yourself drink and expose your own nakedness.
The passage applies primarily to Babylon who has humbled the nations and will be humbled herself. But its imagery is accurately employed. The consumption of alcohol often leads to shame. Revelling in another's indignity, and glorying in individual or national superiority have repeatedly concluded in personal or national disaster.

The position of the story of Noah's self-abuse, following the iteration of the divine covenant, itself consequent upon the global destruction of generations of wickedness, eloquently reflects the doctrine of all Scripture that "the heart is more deceitful than all else and is desperately sick; Who can understand it?" It surely is not "in a man who walks to direct his steps" (Jer 17:9; 10:23). The Noah narrative argues persuasively for human hopelessness apart from the grace of God which appears in Jesus Christ (John 1:14, 16, 17).

Hannah, Woman of Sorrow

The woman of sorrow introduced in 1 Sam 1 may be better known for her famous offspring than in her own right. This may be because of a general failure to grasp the circumstances of her introduction to the pages of Scripture.

The book of Judges paints a picture of chaotic and apostate circumstances pervading most of Israelite
territory through the period of the Early Iron Age (Judg 2:1-3, 11-13; 4:1; 6:1; 13:1; 18:1; 21:25, etc.). Hannah is born to a period of her people's history when polygamy, priestly debauchery, drunkenness even within the temple precincts, are the order of the day (1 Sam 1:1, 2, 9-14; 2:12-17; etc.). She moves in this milieu, of which her own home is a part, carrying her burden of distress.

Then Hannah rose after eating and drinking in Shiloh. Now Eli the priest was sitting on the seat by the doorpost of the temple of the Lord. And she, greatly distressed, prayed to the Lord and wept bitterly. And she made a vow and said, "O Lord of hosts, if Thou wilt indeed look on the affliction of Thy maidservant and remember me, and not forget Thy maidservant, but wilt give Thy maidservant a son, then I will give him to the Lord all the days of his life, and a razor shall never come on his head." (1 Sam 1:9-11)

The full requirement of the Nazirite vow as delineated in Num 6:1-21 includes several elements not mentioned in Hannah's vow, but it appears that it is her intention to devote her asked-for son to God after the manner of the Nazirite commitment.

According to Num 6, the following elements all appear as part of the vow:

1. The person involved is dedicated to God (vs. 2; cf Amos 2:11)
2. He abstains from all grape products (vss. 3, 4)
3. His hair is never cut during the period of his devotion (vs. 5)
4. He avoids ritual uncleanness (such as approaching dead bodies, including near relatives: vss. 6, 7, 9-12)

5. Various offerings and rituals including the shaving of his head mark the end of the period of his setting apart (vss. 13-21).

Of these six identifications only two are mentioned in Hannah's prayer: dedication to God and abstention from shaving (vs. 11). However, the story of Samson (Judg 13-16) does much to suggest that Hannah's vow was indeed a Nazirite vow. In Judg 13 the angel of the Lord appears to the woman who will be Samson's mother and gives the following instruction:

Behold now, you are barren and have borne no children, but you shall conceive and give birth to a son. Now therefore, be careful not to drink wine or strong drink, nor eat any unclean thing. For behold, you shall conceive and give birth to a son, and no razor shall come upon his head, for the boy shall be a Nazirite to God from the womb; and he shall begin to deliver Israel from the hands of the Philistines. vss. 3-5.

The miraculous circumstances attending the announcement, commented on before, emphasize the significance of Samson's calling; added to the statements of Num 6 and Amos 2:11, also reviewed before, they also emphasize the regard in which the Nazirite vow was to be held in Israel. Later, at the beginning of the Christian era, the angel who introduces Christ's forerunner to history employs similar language to that
addressed to Manoah's wife. "He will be great in the sight of the Lord," Gabriel says, "and he will drink no wine or liquor; and he will be filled with the Holy Spirit, while yet in his mother's womb." Luke 1:15.

Both the Iron Age deliverer and the one who will "turn back many of the sons of Israel to the Lord their God" (Luke 1:16), are to be Nazirites, with some support for the argument that they are to be so from their mothers' wombs. The writer of Judges, for example, records his work under the persuasion that Samson's success depended upon the power of the Spirit of God, not upon the length of his hair (Judg 14:6; 15:14; 16:20). Luke 1:15 is explicit concerning John the Baptist: "He will be filled with the Holy Spirit, while yet in his mother's womb." Evidently the work of both these men is characterized throughout by supernatural power, a phenomenon predicted before the birth of each; in the first instance, the predicted ministry is explained as a Nazirite's experience; in the second, it is stated as a Spirit-filled experience. Moreover, the first, when it does come to pass, is described as transpiring by the mighty empowering of the Spirit of God.

It appears that a synchrony may be observed between the passage on Samson in Judg 13:5 and the one
on John in Luke 1:15. The idea may be set out as follows:

Judg 13:5: Luke 1:15:
He shall be a Nazirite to God He will be filled with the Holy Spirit
from the womb. while yet in his mother's womb.

The cases of Samson and John the Baptist appear to cast light on the significance of Hannah's prayer. They may also help to elucidate the significance of the rest of her actions in 1 Sam 1:11-15. Her vow mentions but two of the characteristics of the Nazirite delineation, but her explanation for her conduct both sets her apart from the accusations of the high priest, and sets her forth as a significant figure in the sweep of salvific history. Like an unnamed Danite woman before her, and an aging Jewess afterwards, she comes to serve as God's chosen vessel for bringing into the world one of Israel's great leaders.

But there is an observable difference between the mother of Samson and the mother of Samuel. Unlike the Danite woman, Hannah requires no peculiar directive from heaven to prepare herself for the honored service to which she will be called. She declares herself free from wine and strong drink (1 Sam 1:15), likely because of her awareness of the divine proscriptions against these.
Her submission of sobriety so strikes the priest, that in a prompt and total about face, he speaks to her the divine benediction in exchange for his former chastisement, and sends her away in high hope. "So the woman went her way and ate, and her face was no longer sad" (vs. 18).

Hannah's abstention speaks an implicit rebuke to her times. Her vow and conduct contain clear parallels with the divine ideal as explained to Manoah's wife, and later to Zacharias. Her experience may be used to support the claim that throughout Israel's OT history, knowledge of the ideals she is seen to hold is available, and its practice possible, to those who wish to know and follow them.

It is possible, too, that principles of self-denial, often an element of the teetotalist's perspective, are a valid explanation for what some consider the extremes of Nazirite and Rechabite asceticism. The total avoidance of all grape products may well be intended in Scripture as a clear mark of the Nazirite's uncompromising devotion to God. It may further stand for the devotee's statement that his admiration for even the best gifts of nature cannot compare with his devotion to the God who gives those gifts and daily sustains his life.
Ideally, the Nazirite vow, of divine appointment, serves, as does the institution of the priesthood, to point the nation to the spiritual possibilities held out to those who would indeed be the people of God. It points, not simply to an avoidance of drunkenness, but to self-control exhibited in total abstinence from intoxicants, and a willingness to forego even the good for the sake of the best.

There seems to be a sense in which the Nazirite requirements transcend the stipulations for priests in their self-denying component: Priests are forbidden to drink when they come to the tent of meeting, "so as to make a distinction between the holy and the profane, and between the unclean and the clean" (Lev 10:9, 10); Nazirites under vow are to abstain completely from grape products of any sort (Num 6:4). Priests are to avoid contact with the dead, except for near relatives (Lev 21:1-4); Nazirites under vow are to avoid all contact with the dead (Num 6:6, 7).

In the context of his Nazirite obligations, Samson's military successes and extraordinary physical feats (Judg 14:5, 6, 19; 15:4, 7, 8, 9-15; etc.) supply a major statement on the human potential for survival in spite of man's failure of principle. Samson's promiscuity, his killings, his lies (15:7, 8, 9-15; 16:1, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13), all bespeak a compromise of
virtue at odds with the privilege to which he is called before his birth. He appears to live for the "whatever" of Deut 14:26 instead of the Nazirite vows of his prenatal ordination. Yet the record often is that the Spirit of the Lord comes mightily upon him, empowering him to slaughter and escape (14:19; 15:14). It is in answer to his final prayer that he finds the strength to slay more people in his death than he did in his life (16:28-30). It is difficult, though not impossible, to characterize a youth of Samson's roguery as a teetotaler. But his moral turpitude does not seem to matter to the discharge of his duty. He wreaks havoc upon his enemies while his own people cower and beg him to desist from trouble making (15:9-15).

Neither the Nazirite state nor the honor of God is thereby compromised. The human failure of principle does nothing against the truth of God (2 Cor 12:8), and human unbelief or faithless action "will not nullify the faithfulness of God, will it?" (Rom 3:2). Rather, the God who knows man's works and will one day "judge the world in righteousness" (Acts 17:31), may the more clearly display the mercy of His nature through the failure of Nazirite and every other sinner beside (Lam 3:22, 23; Rom 5:20). He may also show the working of His grace through the character of such as Hannah who stand ready to be called, and who, when called, respond
with the entire being and fulfill their vows (1 Sam 1:24-28).

Nabal, Fool

The biblical profile on Nabal includes an admission by his own wife that the man is a fool (1 Sam 25:25). His folly is something of a sophisticated order which may squander upon the self in drunken indulgence, but not have enough to even play the farce of philanthropy when David's men come by with their reasonable request (1 Sam 25:5-12, 36).

Nabal's refusal to share relates not to the limits of his goods, of which there is more than bounty (vs. 2), but to the boundlessness of his churlishness. Fatally for him, Nabal, for all his bombast, is a coward. His drunkenness he enters upon in the notion that there are no worries to life. His wife, knowing his inability to face life squarely, seeks to break the news to him when he has about him as much of his wits as he is capable of having. The news is that the threat to his life, which arose while he feasted, is now passed.

But Nabal is incapable of distinguishing between safety and danger. Thus, in simple oblivion, he invites danger by spurning David's men, then faints at the news that he is now safe:

And Nabal's heart was merry within him, for he was very drunk; so she did not tell him anything at
all until the morning light. But it came about in the morning, when the wine had gone out of Nabal, that his wife told him these things, and his heart died within him so that he became as a stone. And about ten days later, it happened that the Lord struck Nabal, and he died. (vss. 36-38)

Nabal, in the irony of the writer of Proverbs, may lead a life of bitterness and poverty, and be excused for drunkenness. He does not; therefore he cannot be excused. He proves that the vice of drunkenness, or the disease or drunkenness, is in either case a disaster which befalls rich as well as poor; he shows that its consequences may be reasonably expected to be tragic. He shows also that drunkenness is not the exclusive province of the wise.

The Rechabites, Exemplars of Obedience

An examination of the Rechabites of Jer 35, a group selected by the prophet, upon divine instruction, as exemplars of the obedience He required of the nation of Israel (35:1, 2), reveals the following elements:

1. Their unity of action (vss. 3, 8-11)
2. Their adherence to tradition (vss. 8-12, 16-18)
3. Their regard for and obedience to the word of their forefather Jonadab (vss. 6-12, 16, 18)
4. Particularly, their abstention from wine, i.e., their attitude to the test given by Jeremiah (vss. 5, 6, 8, 14)
5. The blessing given them by God (vs. 19)
It is reasonable to expect that God must have some specific reason for giving Jeremiah the command of vs. 1, 2, to bring the Rechabites to the temple and give them wine to drink. Analysis of the five particulars listed above provides strong suggestion that the divine intention is to express, through the Rechabite behavior, not simply approval of obedience, but admiration for the particular obedience of the Rechabites.

1. Rechabite unity covers not only the spectrum of Jonadab their forefather's commands (vs. 6) but also response to Jeremiah's summons (vs. 3) and the exigency of necessity—escape to within the walls from their traditional places of residence. This last requires a departure from their established practice as dictated by Jonadab who has enjoined them not to build houses but to dwell in tents all their days (vs. 7). Yet they are credited by God, in the end, for observing all of Jonadab's commands (vs. 18). Evidently, Rechabite obedience is not here honored for its literalism.

Jonadab, the one to whom the origins of the movement is linked, is introduced in Scripture as one active in religious reform. He is called "son of Rechab" and first appears in Scripture as one whose

261 Jonadab's title, 'son of Rechab,' suggests an early marital connection between the Rechabites' original forefather and Kenite clans of his time (1

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interests include "zeal for the Lord." (2 Kgs 9:2; 10:16). At the time of his appearance he accepts the invitation of Jehu to ride in the latter's chariot because their hearts were 'right' with each other (vs. 15). They ride together in the king's chariot as he goes forth to the slaughter of the descendants of Ahab, and the destruction of the pillars of Baal (vss. 16-28). This connection of Jonadab with Jehu the ninth-century reformer-king (2 Kgs 9:1-10:28) provides a spiritual backdrop to the conduct of Jeremiah's Rechabites who trace their conduct and conditions of life back to instructions laid down, they say, by him.262

Chron 2:55), though Jonadab's eponymous ancestor has not been identified. According to Bennett, p. 203, Hammath (1 Chron 2:55) is to be understood as "a descendant of Hur, the son of Caleb, i.e. a clan of the Calebite clan of the Kenites." F. S. Frick, "The Rechabites Reconsidered," JBL 90 (1971):279-87, grants the possibility of Hammath as a place [the word may be translated 'hot spring'], or a person, and possibly the founder of a guild of metallurgists. See also Waltke, pp. 42-44. But S. Talmon, "Varia," IEJ 10 (1960):174-80, argues persuasively that the reference to the Kenites "that came of Hamath" (1 Chron 2:55, KJV) is to be understood as "those who came from the family-in-law of the father of the house of Rechab: an unusual OT occurrence, but similar to Num 36:1. For another use of 'father of the house of' without a given name, see 1 Chron 8:29; this individual is later identified in 1 Chron 9:35.

262 A comment on "Rechab, Rechabites," The International Standard Biblical Encyclopedia, 1930 ed., 4:2535, states that Jonadab would probably have laid down his rules in support of Jeh [sic] worship. The laws were to be seen as a vow of fidelity. Others trace the Rechabite behavior beyond Jonadab to his father Rechab's Kenite traditions. On the commonality of practice with Nazirites and priests as well, see
The sum of this conduct as set down in Jer 35:6-9, includes controls on diet, domicile, and occupation, but the major emphasis of Jeremiah's acted parable is on abstention from wine (vss. 2, 5, 6, 8, 14), an abstention also required, to varying degrees, of priests (Lev 10:9) and Nazirites (Num 6:1-4).

The evidence of the Nazirite stand on wine works against the claim that Rechabite unity upon this point merely reflects commonality of ancestry. At the same time, priestly and Nazirite requirement, particularly the similarities of the latter with their own, show that the Rechabite attitude to wine is not peculiar to the clan's ritual law. The way remains open to conclude that Rechabite conduct constitutes a commitment to moral convictions shared by the entire group. Because morality in Israel was communal and never divorced from religion, a spiritual basis for Rechabite behavior may fairly be acknowledged.

2. Rechabite attitudes to tradition must be considered in the light of their convictions on morality. Their single reason for obedience to their rules is that their father told them to (vss. 6, 7, 10.,


etc.); they expect Jeremiah to understand their explanation that "Jonadab gave us this command" (vs. 6). It may here again be noted that Rechabite regard for an ancestral command is not necessarily inflexible and unreasoned. At the time of the wine test, they live in Jerusalem in contravention of Jonadab's stipulation (vss. 6-11). Thus the conformity of Jeremiah's Rechabites to the wish of their elder and founder reveals both elements of respect and of practicality.

Rechabite faithfulness to an ancestral command contrasts with the behavior of the nation of Judah which has departed from the instructions of God, given through Moses, and intended for the establishment and preservation of the nation (Deut 28:1-14 presents blessings which would follow obedience; vss. 15-68 present disasters which could be expected to attend national disobedience). God is sufficiently pleased with the Rechabite adherence to make it His model for Judah (Jer 35:12-16).

Commentators generally concede this, but at the same time make no such acknowledgement on the content of the clan's obedience, dismissing it as "arbitrary."264 The group itself is dismissed as a clan whose primitive life-style shows them to have been left behind when

Israel moved on to an agricultural stage of living.265 Is abstention from wine drinking, the actual 'content' of the Rechabite obedience, arbitrary? OT testimony as adduced thus far does not appear to support such a position.

4. The Mosaic instruction on abstention from wine predates by several hundred years the time of Jonadab. So does the work of Solomon (Prov 20:1; 23:29-32). Rechabite obedience to Jonadab's requirement stands very close to Scriptural ideal and the examples of notable characters (Hannah, John the Baptist). Jonadab, the Rechabites' lawgiver, himself first appears as a friend of anti-Baal reform. Taken together, these facts show how Rechabite law may with reason be viewed in positive relation to OT idealism. If this is the case, then Rechabite abstention likely represents a simple extension of the Nazirite pledge.

As originally enunciated, this pledge is to be for limited duration (Num 6:1-21). In the cases of Samson and Samuel (Judg 13:5; 1 Sam 1:11, 28), it is extended to last a lifetime. Jonadab apparently extends it through the succeeding generations of his

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descendants. These descendants are engaged, says Heschel, in "a struggle against alcoholic orgiastic." 266

5. The context of Jer 35:19 presents 'standing before the Lord' as a reward. The expression is often used for service in the temple, 267 but its meaning is considered uncertain in this instance. 268

There are, in the OT, a number of significant contexts for the use of the verb 'stand' (Cāmad) employed in Jer 35:19. It is this term which is consistently used for Levites (singly and as a tribe), priests, and other such religious personalities (Deut 10:8; 18:5; Num 11:16; Exod 3:5; Josh 5:15) standing for holy service or on holy ground. It is also used for when the whole nation "was called to come to the central sanctuary and 'stand before Yahweh' in solemn assemblies for sacrificial acts." 269

Among the implications of this standing before Yahweh are prayer and intercession (Gen 18:22; Deut

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268 Ibid.

"the ascertaining of truth and justice" (Deut 19:17),270

and solemn assemblies already mentioned.

As Joseph stood before Pharaoh (Gen 41:46), David before Saul (1 Sam 16:21), Abishag and Bathsheba before David (1 Kgs 1:2, 28), and Nebuzaradan before Nebuchadnezzar (Jer 52:12); so the believer stands before Yahweh in a position of obedience, respect, and readiness to serve. Such a position is noble in proportion to the majesty of the one served. When a person stands before Yahweh for service, there is no higher honor to which he may aspire.271

Such an understanding seems to fully befit the words of Jer 35:19: "Therefore thus says the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, 'Jonadab the son of Rechab shall not lack a man to stand before Me always'" (Jer 35:19). Would promise of such honor attend conformity to mere irrelevant tradition? The testimony of Scripture does not support such a position. The Rechabites do not conform to the letter of Jonadab's commands. But they are honored for obeying him completely. The completeness of Rechabite obedience is therefore not of the letter. It must be one of principle: Of such principle as Judah's God finds honorable and exemplary.

Daniel, a Principled Stand

The basic theme of the OT book "Daniel" is argued in the story of its first chapter. It is that

270 Ibid.
271 Ibid.
God rules in the kingdoms of men to the end of delivering His covenant people as they put their whole confidence in Him. Daniel and his companions, slaves in the palm of a great, heathen monarch, purpose to behave as though spiritual conviction takes precedence over physical convenience, social acceptance, and promise of political elevation.

Robert A. Anderson points out that Daniel's "resolute decision" displays, not "an arrogant exclusivism," but the "outward sign of a determined loyalty."272

Daniel's decision concerns possible defilement "with the king's choice food or with the wine which he drank"; he seeks permission from the one in charge "that he might not defile himself" (Dan 1:8).

As a Hebrew, Daniel views ritual defilement as possible from many quarters: meat improperly slaughtered (Gen 9:3, 4; Deut 12:23-25); the flesh of animals whose meat was forbidden as food (Lev 11; Deut 14; 1 Macc 1:62, 63; 2 Macc 6:18-7:42); meat offered to idols (1 Cor 10:20; 27-29). But the preferred diet of the Hebrew worthies raises the question whether mere avoidance of ritual defilement is at stake. One might argue that the

safest possible course is a total avoidance of all kinds of flesh food. But it is not the total argument. There is the possibility that Daniel and company choose their diet not from fear but from preference, to which Robert Anderson rigorously rejoins:

What follows Daniel's decision is no more the placing of the divine imprimatur on asceticism, religious or otherwise, than it is the biblical underwriting of vegetarianism. Both must seek their warrant elsewhere. The scant diet of Daniel and his three friends serves one purpose and only one, and that is to bring into even sharper relief the interior action of God in their preparation.273

The general lack of information among biblical commentators upon the established superiority of Daniel's diet over the fare available at the king's table is reflected again in this comment from The Interpreter's Bible:

The point is not that a diet of vegetables and water was in itself healthier and more beneficial than food from the royal table, but that in spite of such poor fare which might have been expected to leave them thin and ill favored, God honored their loyalty by bringing about an unexpected result.274

273 Ibid.

274 Arthur Jeffery, "Exegesis of the Book of Daniel," IB (New York, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1956), 6:370. Gesenius, s.v. זֶרֶךְ זֶרֶךְ, זֶרֶךְ זֶרֶךְ, explains that the terms in Dan 1:12, 16, are to be understood as "vegetables, herbs, vegetable food, such as is eaten in a half fast; opposed to flesh and more delicate food;" this encourages enquiry as to whether this determination is based too much upon this scholar's notion as to what constitutes 'regular food.' Strong's more objective language, OT 2235, simply identifies the terms as derived from זֶרֶךְ and meaning "something sown, i.e., a vegetable (as food)." This allows for the wide range of nutritious foods to be obtained from things sown:
There is no reason to restrict the diet of the four Hebrews as limited representation of *min-hazzārōcēm* has often done. The term allows for adequate nourishment by a fairly wide application to the products of the vegetable kingdom.

Neither is there valid reason to disregard the dangers of the fare available at the king's table. "The wine which he [the king] drank" (1:5, 8), if comparable to the wine of Belshazzar's feast (Dan 5:1), may have presented a genuine threat to sound judgment. Daniel's specific avoidance of the wine which the king drank (1:5, 8, 16) may easily be viewed from this perspective. Further, avoidance of intoxicants, as enjoined upon priests, is represented as making "a distinction between the holy and the profane, and between the unclean and the clean" (Lev 10:9, 10).

The moral strength of the Daniel character which unfolds through the book of the same name supports a belief that its chief character is committed throughout to adherence to the highest spiritual and moral ideals of his religion. In light of which, a fair argument may be advanced in favor of a choice to reject the royal wine because, as an intoxicant, it would be defiling. Other reasons for potential defilement may exist. But

the case here advanced is that the intoxicating properties of the king's wine are a factor in Daniel's mind when he chooses to reject it.

In Dan 10:3 Daniel again abstains from wine. The character of this second wine may be determined according to the credibility of the Daniel character and conclusions of this study on the subject of wine drinking. Whereas it is not the perception of this researcher that Daniel lives according to the "whatever" of Deut 14:26, it is assumed that the wine of Dan 10:3 is a non-alcoholic beverage.
 CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has aimed to analyze the 141 occurrences of the Hebrew word yayin to determine the attitude of the OT to alcohol use. The prior question, whether ancient Israel had available both unfermented and fermented grape juice was investigated in chapter 2. A chronological history of wine in the ANE was also attempted in chapter 2.

There is now reason to believe that the archaeological evidence on vintage and storage processes supports, equally well, a case for making and preserving fermented and unfermented grape juice.

The evidence of Jewish tradition, as noted in chapter 2, reveals a distinction between wine fresh from the press which could be presented along with heave offerings, and strong drink, which could not. Strong drink was so called after forty days. But all wine did not become strong drink after forty days. Some continued to be available for heave offerings throughout
the year, and was periodically checked to determine whether it was still acceptable.

It is acknowledged that this checking may relate to the beverage's turning to vinegar as much as to its remaining unfermented. However, it appears that the same means used for preserving fermented juice could be used for preserving the unfermented. It is also true that besides the method of underground storage practiced at Gibeon, several other methods of preservation, specifically of unfermented grape juice, were known to the ancients. Significantly, it was noted that treatments of the vintage have usually not discussed the possibility of production of unfermented juice. Neither have researchers been able to demonstrate any consensus on the point in the process at which fermentation occurred.

The third chapter of the thesis examined the biblical usage of yayin not only to see how it related to the archaeological evidence and the Rabbinical tradition, but to determine the attitude of OT Scripture to alcohol drinking.

It was found that fifty-eight references out of a total of 141 are clearly to an intoxicating beverage, but most references were found to be inexplicit. The references were analyzed according to seven categories to determine the import of yayin usage.
The categories reviewed were daily life, festivity, worship and cultic ritual, prophetic utterance, special people, counsel and declaration, and metaphor. Five stories followed which sought to demonstrate the application of the principles derived from the investigation.

The thirty-two occurrences analyzed under "Yayin in Daily Life" showed that wine was widely used in ancient Hebrew life: by king and commoner, rich and poor; it was considered productive of merriment and cheer.

"Yayin in Festivity" involved analysis of sixteen instances occurring in ten passages. Drunkenness was a conspicuous feature of ancient Israel's rejoicing. Moses' farewell speech to the nation includes permission to drink intoxicants "in the presence of the Lord" (Deut 14:26).

"Yayin in Worship and Cultic Ritual" was either fermented or unfermented. But there seems to be strong evidence that the divine ideal for priests and the entire nation was properly represented by a separation from alcohol.

Fierce denunciations of alcohol consumption are heard from the Hebrew prophets. In "Yayin in Prophetic Utterance" great abhorrence of alcohol use is expressed. It is not merely drunkenness that is condemned. Alcohol
use appears to be alien to the prophets' comprehension of the divine intention for Israel. Israel is also shown to be a nation enthusiastic for alcohol.

The prophetic disposition to yayin is not uniformly hostile. For prophets also view the beverage as a source of refreshment, and an appropriate image in metaphor portraying the national restoration at the appearance of the Messiah.

"Yayin and Special People" studied both groups and individual cases. It showed that many besides priests were committed to the ideal of total abstinence. Some, like Nazirites and Rechabites, went beyond avoidance of fermented drinks to separation from all contact with the grapevine. The asceticism of the Nazirite position is presented in Scripture as of divine origin.

The most prominent usage of "Yayin in Metaphor" appears in Solomon's Song of love. The song appears to extol the delights of sexual intimacy within marriage as 'good wine.' Among the negative messages which yayin expresses by metaphor in Scripture are those of impatience, poison, hardship, violence, and destruction.

For very explicitness, "Yayin in Counsel and Declaration" may well surpass the prophetic utterances in the rigor of its denunciation of alcohol drinking. Once again it is observed that not merely is drunkenness
undesirable, but "whoever is intoxicated by it [wine] is not wise" (Prov 20:1).

The first of the five application stories, the story of Noah, showed that Noah's lapse represented a survival, across the deluge, of the weakness of human nature.

The second story highlighted the sterling character of Hannah, mother of Samuel and a saint in her own right, a woman of moral fibre in a time of national moral weakness.

The third story, of Nabal whose name means 'fool', suggests that alcohol drinking is not incompatible with such a name.

Story number four showed that Rechabite abstinence was not arbitrary and primitive, as often claimed, but a commitment to principle such as God could honor.

The final narrative submitted that Daniel's refusal of the king's wine included the awareness that, as an intoxicant, it would defile his body.

The following seventeen summary statements have all been derived from this study of the biblical usage of yayin:

1. It was widely used
2. It was sometimes proscribed
3. It often led to drunkenness
4. It often brought gladness of heart, a condition contrasting with drunkenness

5. God's ideal for Israel related to their attitude to yayin

6. Priests, in pursuance of this ideal, were forbidden to use it when they entered the sanctuary

7. Many besides priests were forbidden to use yayin. Some, like Rechabites, claimed human authority for their action

8. Yayin may refer to other than grape juice

9. It may represent toxicity, hardship, etc.

10. It may represent refreshment and glorious restoration

11. It may represent Messiah's blood

12. It may represent the blood of Messiah's enemies

13. It seems to refer to beverages of contrasting properties

14. In conjunction with šēkār it always means an intoxicant

15. Scripture provides evidence that Israel was permitted to drink intoxicants

16. Scripture provides evidence that the prophets abhorred what they saw as the prevailing attitude to wine. This abhorrence covers both public opposition to the Nazirite vow, and the idea that God would approve of the use of intoxicants

17. Though alcohol use and even drunkenness were prevalent, they were not universal.

In view of these seventeen summary statements, the study resolves that overall, the OT provides condemnation not only of drunkenness, but of alcohol drinking per se. Only one statement can be found which
grants permission to use intoxicants, and this statement is overwhelmingly opposed by the testimony of the remainder of Scripture. The apparent tension between Deut 14:26 and the testimony of the rest of Scripture is here seen as the insight of an experienced and compassionate leader into the ways of his people. The prevalence of alcohol use in ancient Israel's daily life and festivity adequately bears out the Mosaic insight while in no way invalidating the divine requirement of abstention from alcohol.

A comparison with the records of surrounding nations shows that ancient Israel was in many respects similar to other nations of its time in its attitude to alcohol use. For as in Hattusilis' Anatolia, and later, in Rome, alcohol for some members of society was strictly proscribed. As with virtually all of the ancient territories surveyed here, there was in Israel much enthusiasm for intoxicants. However, unlike any of her neighbors, Israel's literature continually holds up an ideal of abstinence while acknowledging, as in the case of Moses, the experienced leader, that the heart of the nation will not be coerced into conformity to ideal behavior.

Questions Which May Yet Be Probed

This study has not investigated the significance of every biblical term related to the study of wine. It
has only investigated one of these words, albeit with an eye to its relation to the whole study of viticulture in ancient Israel. It has given attention to the origins of the term *yavin*, but has not undertaken vigorous comparisons of related terms within the Northwest Semitic language group. It has not considered the evidence of the NT on the subject of wine and the use of alcohol.

The author is aware that these areas are all relevant to an accurate understanding of the biblical statement on the subject. So are such questions as the following on the process of manufacture: When did fermentation actually set in? Could "wine fresh from the press" refer to fermented wine? It may be unlikely, but it bears as much investigation as possible.

Questions on the biblical statement include the following: If intoxicants are contrary to the divine ideal, why should Israel be given permission to use them? Why should God require them to be poured out on His altar? Is the suggestion of self-denial an adequate explanation for the total separation of Nazirite and Rechabite from all association with the grapevine? What was the original basis for Jonadab's stipulations to his descendants? If it was related to the divine instruction, then why did the Rechabites set it forth as of human origin?
A Concluding Statement on Interpretation

This study has focused on a Hebrew word which has been the subject of much discussion and difference of opinion. The same is true of the English word 'wine.'

The established bias of earlier orientation on the significance of any word makes usages differing from that understanding hard to accept. But words do often mean more than is recognized when they are first learned.

The usual understanding of 'wine' is alcoholic grape juice. But the Hebrew term yayin, and the English word 'wine' both have an alternate meaning, which, in real irony, has been considered as only a disputed secondary meaning. The irony is in the implication that the unfermented juice of the grape is a possible, though by no means a certain, byproduct of alcoholic grape juice.

The great mitigating factor in a case of such misunderstanding is the basic translation principle which requires the scholar to avoid interpreting key words with a personal or doctrinal bias.

Translating yayin (or its synonyms) as alcoholic/non-alcoholic requires interpretation. Translating as 'wine' requires none. Translators are fair enough to continue to translate yayin as 'wine.'
But readers of the English text are unfairly treated when scholars deny that wine does not necessarily mean an alcoholic beverage. For many today it does not; the dictionary allows that it need not; and for the Hebrew of the OT it did not.

Scholarly integrity here supports ambiguity rather than dogma. A reading of ANE literature of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Israel, etc., furthers the cause of support for alternative readings of yayín in the Hebrew Scriptures as alcoholic/non-alcoholic. Beyond this, absurdity prevails where there is attempt to disallow such alternatives as suggest that fermented juice is juice which was once unfermented.

There are many whose idea of a perfect Deity is incompatible with the language of Deut 14:26. For these, the word 'compassion' may take on new meaning. The use of intoxicants is not set forth in Scripture as according to God's ideal. Neither is polygamy, despite Abraham's being a friend of God.

The God of polygamous Abraham and Jacob is the same Who acknowledges that Israel will desire to drink wine and strong drink in celebration. He is the God, not of the 'righteous', but of sinners. If He were not the God of sinners, He would never be able to become the God of saints. It is His all-knowing forbearance with sinners that, in the end, will prove that grace is
sufficient to sustain the evil in their evil; it is His everlasting forgiving love that will at last transform them from their evil to His goodness. The forbearance of God does not discriminate against the drunkard. The grace which brings salvation is equally available to all men.
APPENDIX A

SOME HEBREW AND ARAMAIC WORDS RELEVANT TO THE STUDY
## APPENDIX A

### SOME HEBREW AND ARAMAIC WORDS RELEVANT TO THE STUDY

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<td>239.c</td>
<td>1572/167.b</td>
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<td>2.  גַּֽאָ֑ט</td>
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<td>245.b</td>
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<td>also name of city Joshua 19:13</td>
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<td>wine still fermenting</td>
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<td>3196/412</td>
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<td>Aram. equiv. of hemer</td>
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<td>Word</td>
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<td>mīmsāk</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Prov 23:30; Isa 65:11</td>
<td>Mixed wine; Mixing vessel</td>
<td>Potos--drinking party (Pro.); kerasma from kerannuni, to mix( Is gl).</td>
<td>534.a</td>
<td>675.b</td>
<td>4469/415</td>
<td>587.b</td>
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<td>Lev 11:17</td>
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<td>māsak</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>Prov 9:2, 5</td>
<td>mix (wine with honey, spices)</td>
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<td>541.b</td>
<td>684.a</td>
<td>4537/415</td>
<td>587.b</td>
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<td>mesek</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Ps 75:8</td>
<td>mixture (of wine with spices)</td>
<td>kerasmatos from kerannuni</td>
<td>541.b</td>
<td>684.a</td>
<td>4538/415</td>
<td>587.b</td>
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<td>māṣeqh</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>19 Sh/2 M</td>
<td>Lev 11:34; Neh 1:11</td>
<td>cup bearer; beverage; well watered</td>
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<td>580.b</td>
<td>5.Q</td>
<td>4945/417</td>
<td>1052.b</td>
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<td>mīṣteh</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Gen 19:3; 26:30</td>
<td>feast, banquet, drinks</td>
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<td>581.a</td>
<td>5.B</td>
<td>726.a</td>
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<td>13. nāṣēk</td>
<td>n.m.</td>
<td>1&lt;sub&gt;Sh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>2&lt;sub&gt;KBL&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>Deut 32:38</td>
<td>libation, drink offering</td>
<td>619.b</td>
<td>763.c</td>
<td>5257/651.a</td>
<td>hypothesized from nāṣēk also 'prince' 'leader', Jos 13:21</td>
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<td>14. nāsak</td>
<td>24&lt;sub&gt;M&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
<td>26&lt;sub&gt;Sh&lt;/sub&gt;</td>
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<td>5.N</td>
<td>764.a 5258/650.b</td>
<td>also means 'to weave' Isa 25:7</td>
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<td>15. nēsak</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>pour out</td>
<td>1100.a</td>
<td>6.L</td>
<td>764.a 5260/1102.a</td>
<td>Aram. for nasak</td>
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<td>16. nēsak</td>
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<td>drink offering</td>
<td>1100.b</td>
<td>6.L</td>
<td>764.b 5261/1103.a</td>
<td>Aram. for nesek</td>
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<td>620.a</td>
<td>4.H</td>
<td>764.a 5262/651.a</td>
<td>also 'molten image' Isa 41:29</td>
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<td>18. sōbāʾ</td>
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<td>646.a</td>
<td>799.a 5433/417</td>
<td>684.b</td>
<td>hypothetical form</td>
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<td>20. ġēnāb</td>
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<td>Deut 32:14; Gen 40:10</td>
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<td>723.a</td>
<td>905.a 6071/414 779.a</td>
<td>From ġasas Mal 4:3 (hapax) = tread down</td>
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<td>22. ġāas</td>
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<td>tread down</td>
<td>723.a</td>
<td>905.a 6072/779.a</td>
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<td>23. ġāaq</td>
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<td>5.W 1063.c 7301/924.a</td>
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<td>27. ġāweh</td>
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<td>drunk</td>
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<td>1016.a</td>
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<td>wine</td>
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<td>give a</td>
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<td>drink to</td>
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<td>n.m.</td>
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<td>drink,</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. סת֫ה</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>Gen 8:21; Can 5:1</td>
<td>1014.b 2.E 1213.c 8354/417</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1059.a</td>
<td>also means 'weave,' Isa 19:10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. סת֫ה</td>
<td>to drink</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dan 5:1, 2, 3, 4, 23</td>
<td>1135.a 6.H 1214.c 8355/117.b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Aram, for satah; also a kind of woven material Ecc 10:17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. סתיות</td>
<td>time or manner of drinking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Esther 1:8</td>
<td>1015.a 1215.a 8360/8059.b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. סט֫וּד</td>
<td>grape harvest</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>Gen 27:28</td>
<td>1027.b 5.F 1230.a 8492/414 440.b</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Abbreviations:
adj. - adjective; BDB - Brown, Driver, Briggs Lexicon; f - feminine; H - Holladay; KBL - Koehler, Baumgartner Lexicon; m - masculine; M - Mitchell; n - noun; pl - plural; s - singular; Sh - Even Shoshan
APPENDIX B

141 OCCURRENCES OF YAYIN
APPENDIX B

141 OCCURRENCES OF YAYIN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Books</th>
<th>Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exodus</td>
<td>29:40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leviticus</td>
<td>10:9; 23:13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Samuel</td>
<td>1:14, 15, 24; 10:3; 16:20; 25:18, 37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Samuel</td>
<td>13:28; 16:1, 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Chronicles</td>
<td>9:29; 12:40; 27:27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Chronicles</td>
<td>2:10, 15; 11:11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nehemiah</td>
<td>2:1, 2; 5:15, 18; 13:15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther</td>
<td>1:7, 10; 5:6; 7:2, 7, 8.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job</td>
<td>1:13, 18; 32:19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psalms</td>
<td>60:3; 75:8; 78:65; 104:15.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ecclesiastes</td>
<td>2:3; 9:7; 10:19.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Scripture</th>
<th>Verses</th>
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<tr>
<td>Canticles</td>
<td>1:2, 4; 2:4; 4:10; 5:1; 7:9; 8:2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah</td>
<td>5:11, 12, 22; 16:10; 22:13; 24:9, 11; 28:1, 7 (twice); 29:9, 51:21; 53:1; 56:12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah</td>
<td>13:12 (twice); 23:9; 25:15; 35:2, 5 (twice), 6 (twice), 8, 14; 40:10, 12; 48:33; 51:7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamentations</td>
<td>2:12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daniel</td>
<td>1:5, 8, 16; 10:3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel</td>
<td>1:5; 3:3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos</td>
<td>2:8, 12; 5:11; 6:6; 9:14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micah</td>
<td>2:11; 6:15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habakkuk</td>
<td>2:5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zephaniah</td>
<td>1:13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haggai</td>
<td>2:12.</td>
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APPENDIX C

CONDITION OF BEVERAGE
## APPENDIX C

### CONDITION OF BEVERAGE

**Yayin as Intoxicant**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Text or Context</th>
<th>No. of Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen 9:21, 24</td>
<td>Noah drinks and becomes drunk</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 19:31-35</td>
<td>Lot drinks and knows nothing</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 32:33, 38</td>
<td>Their wine is the venom of serpents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sam 1:14, 15</td>
<td>How long will you be drunk?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sam 25:37</td>
<td>Nabal very drunk</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sam 13:28</td>
<td>Strike Ammon when he is &quot;high from wine&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esther 1:7, 10; 5:6; 7:2, 7, 8</td>
<td>Persian wine feasts</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Job 32:19</td>
<td>My belly is like unvented wine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 60:3</td>
<td>Wine that makes us stagger</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 75:8</td>
<td>Cup of foaming wine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 78:65</td>
<td>Like a warrior overcome by wine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prov 4:17</td>
<td>Wine of violence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prov 20:1</td>
<td>Wine is a mocker</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prov 23:20, 30, 31</td>
<td>Wine brings trouble</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prov 31:4-6</td>
<td>Kings are not to drink wine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eccl 2:3</td>
<td>Wine that stimulates the body</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 5:11, 12, 22</td>
<td>Wine inflames</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 22:13</td>
<td>'Let us drink (wine) for tomorrow we die'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 24:9, 11</td>
<td>Revelers stop drinking wine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 28:1, 7</td>
<td>Overcame with wine</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 29:9; 51:21</td>
<td>Drunk but not with wine</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 56:12</td>
<td>'Let us get wine, drink heavily of strong drink</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 13:12</td>
<td>Wine-filled jugs represent people filled with drunkenness</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 23:9</td>
<td>Like a man overcome with wine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 25:15</td>
<td>Cup of wine of wrath</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 51:7</td>
<td>Nations drunk with Babylon's wine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan 1:4, 8, 16</td>
<td>Daniel refuses wine</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hosea 4:11; 7:5</td>
<td>Wine takes away understanding</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joel 1:5</td>
<td>Wail all you wine drinkers</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## References

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text or Context</th>
<th>No. of Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joel 3:3</td>
<td>Sold a girl for drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos 2:8</td>
<td>Drink the wine of those who have been fined</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micah 2:11</td>
<td>If a liar spoke of wine and liquor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab 2:5</td>
<td>Wine betrays the haughty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 9:15</td>
<td>Will drink, and be boisterous as with wine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Yayin as Unfermented*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text or Context</th>
<th>No. of Occurrences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen 14:18</td>
<td>Melchizedek brings for Abram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen 69:11, 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exod 29:40</td>
<td>To be offered as libation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lev 23:13</td>
<td>To be offered as libation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 15:5, 7, 10</td>
<td>To be offered as libation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 28:14</td>
<td>To be offered as libation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 28:39</td>
<td>To be lost as crops are destroyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sam 1:24</td>
<td>Taken to the temple by Hannah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sam 16:2</td>
<td>To refresh tired travelers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 104:15</td>
<td>Makes man's heart glad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prov 9:2, 5</td>
<td>Gives wisdom and life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eccl 10:19</td>
<td>Brings joy to life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cant 1:2, 4; 2:4</td>
<td>Compared to the love and 4:10; 5:1; 7:9; sexual intimacy of marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 16:10</td>
<td>Flows as the press is treaded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 55:1</td>
<td>Offered by the Deity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 40:10, 12</td>
<td>Gathered in from field (used here instead of tiros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jer 48:33</td>
<td>Flows as the press is treaded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lam 2:12</td>
<td>Hungry infants ask for grain and wine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dan 10:3</td>
<td>Used by Daniel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos 14:7</td>
<td>Wine of Lebanon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos 9:14</td>
<td>Available at Israel's restoration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hag 2:12</td>
<td>Listed with other foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 10:7</td>
<td>Brings rejoicing at the restoration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Many instances of yayin as unfermented involve the reader's interpretation since Scripture shows that even good men sometimes erred through use of intoxicants. This caution has led to the omission of some instances (Eccl 9:7; Amos 2:12; 5:11; Micah 6:15, etc.) where the beverage referred to may be either fermented or unfermented, or both.
## Yayin as Prohibited

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Text or Context</th>
<th>No. of Occurrences</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lev 10:9</td>
<td>Priests not to drink</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 6:3-4</td>
<td>Nazirite to abstain</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judg 13:4-14</td>
<td>Samson and his mother to abstain</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeremiah 35</td>
<td>Rechabites do not drink</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ezek 44:21</td>
<td>Priests of 2nd temple not to drink</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos 5:11</td>
<td>&quot;You will not drink&quot;</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mic 6:15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeph 1:13</td>
<td></td>
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## Yayin Sanctioned or Approved

<table>
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<tr>
<th>References</th>
<th>Text or Context</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gen 14:18</td>
<td>Melchizedek brings out wine</td>
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<tr>
<td>Exod 29:40</td>
<td>Wine for offering</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lev 23:13</td>
<td>A ½ hin (1 gal.) for libation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 6:20</td>
<td>The Nazirite may drink</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 15:5-10</td>
<td>Wine for offerings</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Num 28:14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deut 14:26</td>
<td>Buy wine and celebrate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps 104:15</td>
<td>Wine makes the heart glad</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecc 9:7</td>
<td>Drink with cheerful heart</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecc 10:19</td>
<td>Wine makes life merry</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isa 55:1</td>
<td>Come, buy wine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos 9:4</td>
<td>Libations to the Lord</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hos 14:7</td>
<td>Renown like 'wine of Lebanon'</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amos 9:14</td>
<td>'You will drink wine' at Israel's restoration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zech 10:7</td>
<td>Heart made glad from wine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This category may also include general poetical allusions including Gen 49:11, 12; Prov 9:2, 5; Cant 1:2, 4, 24; 4:10; 5:1; 7:9; 8:2; Lam 2:12. It does not include references to the state of the beverage, but rather covers contexts implying approval of *yayin*.
26 February 1986

Rev. Robert P. Teachout, Th.D.
Pastor, Trinity Baptist Church
6034 S. Beech Daly Road
Taylor, Michigan 48180

Dear Dr. Teachout:

Our dialog ended, I include with my thanks a note on the two questions we did reflect upon, that you may ascertain whether I got your view clearly.

1) Re the flawed characters who act for God—e.g. Isaac bestowing the birthright: your view is that there is a measure of potential here to affect the interpretation of 'yayin' according to your cited representation [71 x as grape juice, 70 as wine] since the framework for such a representation—a context of divine approval disapproval—ought to distinguish more particularly between the divine character and consistency and the human element so often involved in less than ideal execution of heaven's will.

2) Re those scriptural instances of sin (non-ideal conduct) in a context of divine approval (Acts 17:30): e.g.—Kingship in Israel.

To which your response is that Kingship in Israel may not be employed as illustrative of this scenario since Kingship was always God's intention for His chosen nation (Gen 17:6; Deut 17:14ff). He only warned against the way royal authority might be misused.

Perhaps I distracted you by my illustration, but what do you think of the idea of divine approval for less than ideal conduct?

Anxiously await your scholarly lode, all 462 pages thereof.

I am
Your brother in the Lord,

Lael Caesar

205
Mr. Lael Caesar  
F-46 Beechwood  
Berrien Springs, MI 49103  

Dear Lael:

In answer to your questions, please note the following:

1. I am absolutely sure from my own research that God never ever approved of the drinking as a beverage of any fermented drink including wine. This is based upon the incontrovertible evidence that several words mean either grape juice or fermented wine depending on the contextual use of the words. Therefore, for example, whenever in the Old Testament there is a word divinely spoken of wine or in the New Testament of wine in grape juice, which is so approved whenever there is divine disapproval of the beverage, it is fermented wine which is disapproved. In agree with your observation. I believe that because of the created character of Or Man, all faith that they are certain sin periodically. Scripture indicates that God of God specifically aimed in using intoxicating beverages; for example, Becker for King Lot. There is at least-hypothetically possible, the one or two cases which I suggested that wine should be translated as fresh wine. However, the only basis that we have for saying the natural beverage is the context, do not think that it. All the hypothetical possible cases that should be given into at all in our conclusions regarding how to translate the word should be translated as fresh juice. Therefore, I disagree with your interpretation of my position as you stated it.

2. As I mentioned on the phone, the institution of kingship in Israel was definitely part of God’s predicted and idea will—Genesis 17:6, 49:10, etc. However, the timing of their inauguration of kingship was man’s (in defiance of God’s will) even though the man chosen, Saul, was of God—1 Samuel 8:7-9, 19:9:16.

3. Your third question was about whether or not God ever approved of less than ideal conduct in His people based upon Acts 17:30, God “. . . overlooked the times of ignorance.” Further complicating your question was the definition you gave for sin as “non-ideal conduct”. I would never call sin that, personally. On the one hand no-one is capable of totally ideal conduct in this life. Yet we are able to please God when we lead a life of determined obedience and trust along with immediate confession of sin when we know that we have displeased Him. God has always shown, on the

"The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is understanding." Prov. 9:10
one hand, the highest standards of holiness in Himself. On the other hand, He does not demand or expect of us such holiness in this life. Rather, He expects us to grow in our understanding of His Word throughout life, applying it to our lifestyle as we learn. As we implement God's truth with determination, God is pleased. The only barrier to our fellowship with Him is recognized, unconfessed sin. Unknown or unrecognized sin (falling short of the glory of God) is taken care of automatically when all known sin is truly confessed—1 John 1:9, "cleanses us ... all unrighteousness."

I think that you are not representing the truth if you maintain that God ever approves of sin. God certainly, in His grace, overlooks and does not hold against us any sin which we are unaware that we are committing. I believe that Christ's death on the cross paid the penalty for Adam's sin and took care of the penalty for every man's sin nature as well as potentially for every sin that is committed. Thus no one (even those who go to hell) will ever be judged for their sin nature. Anyone who goes to hell will be there because of personally known and recognized sin, not because of sin which they have done in ignorance. [That is one reason why I am sure that infants who die will be in heaven rather than in hell.] Romans 1:19-21 affirms that even pagan mankind has deliberately turned their back on clear divine revelation and, therefore, they are without excuse.

It is important to keep the biblical distinctions. God allows ignorance in man without judging it (unless it is deliberate ignorance); that is His grace toward man and is a result of the fact that His Son paid an infinite penalty which covers all ignorant sin too. However, to say that God overlooks ignorant sin and does not make it a barrier to fellowship with Himself is very different from saying that God can approve of sin (any sin, ignorant or not). God cannot ever approve of any sin or He would not be holy.

I hope that this answers your questions and helps you to avoid dangerous thinking.

Sincerely in Christ,

Robert P. Teachout, Th. D.
Pastor
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